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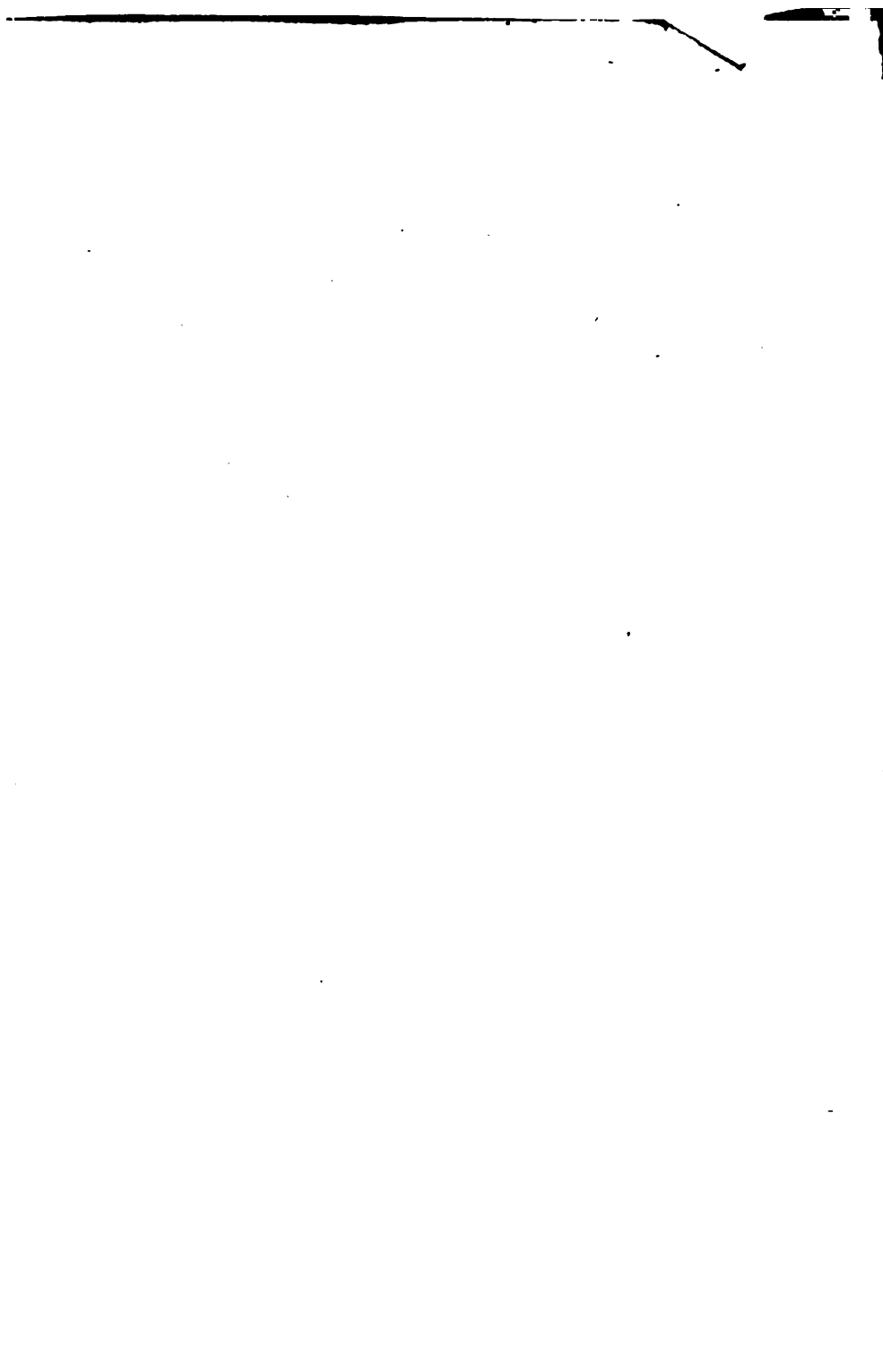




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MISCELLANIES

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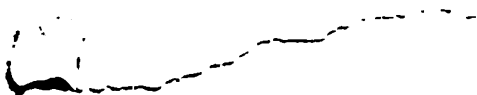
VOL. XIV.

Quia hoc de Librorum amore principaliter tractat,
placuit nobis, more veterum Latinorum, ipsum Græce
decemulo Philobiblon emendatius nuncupare.
Richard de Wray.

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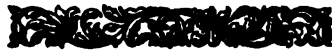
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NOTICE OF LORD ZOUCHE.




1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city of New York.



S the fourteenth volume of the Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society may not be issued for some short time, it is thought advisable to circulate the accompanying notice of its deceased member Lord Zouche, for the satisfaction of the Society, his family, and friends. Another copy of the notice will form part of the forthcoming volume.

NOTICE OF LORD ZOUCHE.

 HIS Society has to regret the loss of one of its oldest and not least distinguished members, Lord Zouche, better known in the literary world as Robert Curzon.

His parents were the Honourable Robert Curzon (second son of Afshe-ton first Viscount), and the Baroness de la Zouche. He was born March 16, 1810. He was educated at the Charter House, one of his school-fellows being Mr. Thackeray, with whom, after a long interval of time, in mature years, he renewed his acquaintance. He was matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1828, and

6 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

remained there till 1830. Strictly classical studies, however, presented no attractions to him, and he took no degree at the University. Nor had he any aptitude or liking for public or political life, into which he was nevertheless forcibly plunged for a short period during those very stormy times which preceded and accompanied the enactment of the first Reform Bill. He was returned in 1831 to Parliament for Clitheroe, a borough which his father had long represented, and which in fact belonged to his family. He duly recorded his vote against every stage of the Reform Bill, and when that measure became law, bade adieu without any reluctance to public life. He went abroad with the Rev. Walter Sneyd in 1832, and passed the winter with him at Rome. In 1833 he determined to gratify a long cherished desire of visiting the East;

Notice of Lord Zouche. 7

and in the spring of that year he began his travels, with the late Sir George Palmer as his companion, and returned to England about Christmas 1834. In 1837 he made an expedition to Egypt and the monasteries of Asia Minor. He returned to England in the autumn of 1838. The result of these travels was the composition and publication, at a much later period, of a work to be presently mentioned.

In 1841 he became attached to the Legation at Constantinople, then presided over by Sir Stratford Canning, to whom he also acted as private secretary.

In 1843 he was employed with Colonel Williams in adjusting a boundary treaty between Turkey and Persia, and for this purpose went to Erzeroum. While there he was struck down by an illness, the effect of which he never entirely shook off,

8 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

to which, indeed, and to the sorrow consequent upon the loss of his wife, his premature death is in great measure to be ascribed.

In a work which he subsequently published he gives the following account of this calamity :

“October 1, 1843.

* * * *

“ I felt perfectly well when we
“ went to dinner, when suddenly it
“ appeared to me that what I was
“ eating was burning hot, and had
“ a strange odd taste. I believe I
“ got up and staggered across the
“ room, but here my senses failed
“ me, and I remained insensible for
“ twenty-seven days. An attack of
“ brain fever had come upon me
“ like a blow, as sudden and over-
“ whelming as a flash of lightning.
“ On the 27th of October I awoke
“ in the morning, but, as I suppose,
“ went to sleep for a while ; in the

Notice of Lord Zouche. 9

“ afternoon I fairly came to my
“ senses, and saw my servant sitting
“ on the scarlet cloth divan under
“ the window looking at me.

“ I felt something strange, and
“ still, and gloomy in the air, and
“ was rather bewildered with the
“ sensation. This was soon to be
“ accounted for: the servant, seeing
“ that I was alive, came forward
“ towards the bed, while a low rum-
“ bling noise made itself heard.
“ This noise became louder; flakes
“ of plaster fell from the ceiling, the
“ room trembled, and was filled with
“ a fine dust, with which I was
“ nearly choked. My man exclaim-
“ ed, ‘ The earth moves—are you not
“ ‘ afraid ? ’ As he spoke the noise
“ which we had heard increased,
“ and an immense beam, made of
“ the trunk of a whole tree, which
“ was immediately above my bed,
“ split, with a report like a cannon.

10 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

“ The earthquake shook the house
“ terribly ; it creaked and trembled
“ like a ship in a heavy gale of
“ wind ; the noise increased to a
“ roar, not like thunder, but howling
“ and bellowing, with a low rum-
“ bling sound, while the air was as
“ still as if nature was paralyzed
“ with dread ; every now and
“ then a tremendous crash gave
“ notice of a falling house. The
“ one opposite our house belonging
“ to a poor widow was entirely de-
“ stroyed ; and, in the midst of a
“ most fearful uproar, the two
“ rooms, one on each side of my bed-
“ room, fell in ; while the air was
“ darkened altogether, as in an
“ eclipse, with clouds of dust. So
“ great was the noise of the earth-
“ quake all around, that neither my
“ attendant nor I distinguished the
“ particular crash when the two
“ rooms adjoining us fell in. Some

Notice of Lord Zouche. 11

“ of the minarets and many of the
“ houses of the city were de-
“ molished ; parts of the ancient
“ castellated walls fell down. The
“ top of one of the two beautiful
“ minarets of the old medressé, the
“ glory of Erzerroom, called usually
“ Eki Chifteh, disappeared. Those
“ who were out and able to witness
“ the devastation, and to hear the
“ awful roaring noise, said they had
“ never seen or heard anything
“ more tremendous than the scene
“ before their eyes. It is difficult
“ to express in words the strange,
“ awful sensation produced by the
“ seeming impossible contradiction
“ of a dead stillness in the midst of
“ the crash of falling buildings, the
“ fullen low bellowing, which per-
“ haps sounded from beneath the
“ ground, and the tremendous up-
“ roar that arose on all sides during
“ the earthquake. I have not met

12 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

“ with an account of this strange
“ phenomenon in the descriptions
“ of other earthquakes, and do not
“ know whether it is a usual ac-
“ companiment to these terrible con-
“ vulsions of nature.

“ The earthquake accomplished
“ its mission. In the midst of terror
“ and destruction it restored one
“ poor creature to life. I regained
“ my senses and my faculties on the
“ 27th, as suddenly as I had lost
“ them on the 1st day of this
“ month. God give me grace to
“ make a good use of the life which
“ was restored to me under such
“ awful circumstances !

“ On that day the doctor, who
“ had some difficulty in getting to
“ my room through the ruins of the
“ ante-room, took the ice off my
“ head, and in a few days I reco-
“ vered sufficient strength to move
“ my limbs, which I could not do

Notice of Lord Zouche. 13

“ at first. As soon as it appeared
“ that there was any probability of
“ my recovery, my kind friends
“ agreed that the best chance of re-
“ gaining my health lay in removing,
“ as soon as I could bear the jour-
“ ney, to a better climate.”¹

The account of his expedition from Erzeroum to the borders of the Black Sea is very interesting. The following extracts are sufficient to carry on the history in this brief memoir :—

“ On the 27th of December, all
“ preparations being completed, I
“ started on my journey over the
“ mountains to Trebizond. Kiamili
“ Pasha had prepared an order to
“ all and sundry, great and small,
“ upon the road, to give me every

¹ “ Armenia: a Year at Erzeroum, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia. By the Hon. Robert Curzon.” Chap. xi. p. 158.

14 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

“ assistance, and, with this and a
“ powerful firman from the Sultan,
“ I had authority to do whatever I
“ pleased in that part of the world.

* * * *

“ My personal appearance must
“ have been remarkable: I had a
“ long beard, and so thin a face that
“ my nose was translucent, if not
“ transparent. I had a Persian cap
“ upon my head, and over other
“ garments a toilette of my own in-
“ vention, which vested me with a
“ dignity peculiar to myself: this
“ was a large eider-down quilt, of
“ bright green silk, in the middle
“ of which I had caused a hole to
“ be made, through which I put my
“ head, the two ends of the quilt
“ hung down before and behind
“ like a chafuble or a poncho;
“ round it I tied a girdle. My
“ general appearance must have
“ been rather striking to the be-

Notice of Lord Zouche. 15

“ holder, and was probably con-
“ sidered by the natives on the road
“ as the official costume of an Elchi
“ Bey. I was so weak that when
“ I was bundled into the taktera-
“ wan, I could not turn round, and
“ was nearly smothered in my own
“ feathers, till somebody turned me
“ the right side upwards, when I
“ was able to bid adieu to all the
“ principal Europeans and others
“ who had kindly assembled to see
“ me off. A number of people ac-
“ companied me for some distance
“ out of the town, and Colonel
“ Williams came as far as Elijè,
“ about three hours in the snow,
“ which ended my first day's march.

* * * *

“ In this way, by slow degrees, we
“ scrambled on our way, till, on the
“ 10th of January, after fifteen days'
“ journey through the intense cold
“ of the mountains, I arrived, in

16 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

“better health and strength than
“when I started, at the edge of the
“table-land, from whence I saw the
“blue waters of the sea, and at 11
“o'clock a.m. I was seated in my
“room in the quarantine station at
“Trebizond.”¹

During his illness at Erzeroom he received the Holy Communion from Dr. Wolff, then on his way to Bokhara. The cure of Mr. Curzon was, in great measure, due to the skill of Dr., now Sir Joseph, Dickson, who, such are the changes and chances of this world, being this year in attendance on the Shah of Persia, saw his former patient at Parham a few weeks before his death. It should also be mentioned, that at Erzeroom, Mr. Curzon formed a friendship with Sir John Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars (the Colonel Williams men-

¹ “Armenia,” chap. xii. pp. 165, 166, 175.

Notice of Lord Zouche. 17

tioned in the extracts already given), which was never interrupted.

He never visited the East again.

In 1848 he published the work already referred to, called, "Visits to Monasteries in the Levant."

This charming little work obtained immediately a complete success, and passed through several editions.

In his Preface he says:—

"The origin of these pages is as follows:—

"I was staying by myself in an
"old country house belonging to
"my family, but not often inhabited
"by them, and having nothing to
"do in the evening, I looked about
"for some occupation to amuse the
"passing hours. In the room where
"I was sitting there was a large
"bookcase full of ancient manu-
"scripts, many of which had been
"collected by myself, in various out-

18 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

“ of-the-way places, in different
“ parts of the world. Taking some
“ of these ponderous volumes from
“ their shelves, I turned over their
“ wide vellum leaves, and admired
“ the antiquity of one, and the gold
“ and azure which gleamed upon
“ the pages of another.

“ The sight of these books brought
“ before my mind many scenes and
“ recollections of the countries from
“ which they came, and I said to
“ myself, ‘ I know what I will do ;
“ ‘ I will write down some account
“ ‘ of the most curious of these
“ ‘ manuscripts, and the places in
“ ‘ which they were found, as well
“ ‘ as some of the adventures which
“ ‘ I encountered in the pursuit of
“ ‘ my venerable game.’

“ I sat down accordingly, and in a
“ short time accumulated a heap of
“ papers connected more or less with
“ the history of the ancient manu-

Notice of Lord Zouche. 19

“ scripts. At the desire of some of
“ my friends I selected the following
“ pages, and it is with great diffi-
“ dence that I present them to the
“ public. If they have any merits
“ whatever, these must consist in
“ their containing descriptions of
“ localities but seldom visited in
“ modern times: or if they refer to
“ places better known to the general
“ reader, I hope that the peculiar
“ circumstances which occurred dur-
“ ing my stay there, or on my jour-
“ neys through the neighbouring
“ countries, may be found suffici-
“ ently interesting to afford some
“ excuse for my presumption in
“ sending them to the press.”

In 1854 he published another little work, entitled, “ Armenia : a
“ Year at Erzeroum, and on the
“ Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and
“ Persia.”

From this work the extract con-

20 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

taining the account of his marvellous recovery from an apparently desperate illness has been already given.

The cause of the great success of his first work is, in great measure, to be found in the very peculiar, but very agreeable style of the perspicuous and picturesque narrative. The style was eminently characteristic of the writer. He wrote, indeed, as he spoke. His language was the mirror of his mind. All concealment of thought was foreign to his nature, and, while, in consequence of an imperfect education, he would sometimes make blunders as to matters of rather ordinary ancient classical and modern political knowledge, his naturally quick understanding, his love of perspicuity, his simplicity and scorn of ornament, his determination to state the impression which he had formed, whatever prejudice it might affront, often

Notice of Lord Zouche. 21

rendered his conversation not only very interesting and original, but occasionally very instructive.

The peculiar character of his reading and pursuits increased, if it did not originate, this habit of conversation and writing.

For Latin and Greek erudition he cared little.

Politics, especially modern, had no interest for him. His general historical knowledge was deficient, but his passion for enquiring into mediæval life led him to accumulate with great pains, and excellent taste, every object that could illustrate it, especially armour, of which he not only formed a great and rare collection, but which he arranged according to epochs, and made a sort of representative history. It was not a little remarkable that, to this intense curiosity as to European mediævalism he added a curi-

22 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

osity scarcely less intense as to Oriental domestic history, and both these subjects interested him to the last day of his life. His collection of Oriental MS. is exceedingly precious. A catalogue of these was privately printed in 1849. He had also the more ordinary taste of an antiquary for whatever in literature or armour, in editions of books or utensils of peace or war, could show an undoubtedly ancient pedigree; the mere fact of their antiquity, as much as the goodness of their condition, won his regard.

He had a naturally good taste, aided by a correct eye and ear, and he especially appreciated nice and well executed works of painting, sculpture, or jewellery.

In 1850 he married Emily Julia, the youngest daughter of Sir Robert and Lady Wilmot Horton, the latter known to all readers of Byron as:—

Notice of Lord Zouche. 23

"She walks in beauty like the night
"Of cloudless realms and starry skies ;
"And all that's best of dark and bright,
"Meet in her aspect and her eyes," &c.

He had two children, who survive him ; the present lord and a daughter.

On the 11th of March, 1866, his wife died.

His mother died in 1870, and he succeeded to the peerage which she had holden in her own right, but his spirits never rallied after the shock which the death of his wife gave him.

His health became thoroughly undermined, and after a long and painful illness at Parham in Sussex, the seat of his maternal ancestors, he yielded up, with humble but assured faith, his spirit to God who gave it, the 2nd of August, 1873.

The foundation of his character was sincerity, which, but for his

24 *Notice of Lord Zouche.*

natural good breeding and desire to avoid inflicting pain, might have sometimes given offence; but so checked and tempered, it laid the foundation of those few but steady and loving friendships which cheered his often very chequered life. He was, indeed, a much loving and much beloved friend, as well as a companion, whose natural talent, varied experience, original conversation, and lively wit will live long in the memory of those who had the good fortune to be well acquainted with him.

F I N I S .



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO VENETIAN PAINTERS AND
THEIR PICTURES IN THE
16TH CENTURY.

COMMUNICATED BY EDWARD CHENEY.





DURING a stay at Venice, in the year 1873, it was suggested to me by my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, whose guest I was, that an interesting and curious collection might be made of the letters, receipts, and other original documents relating to Venetian painters and their works, now existing in the different repositories of the city.

Much as these have been ransacked, something, no doubt, might still be recovered; but I had neither time nor opportunity to pursue my researches very far. A few notices,

4 *Venetian Painters*

however, I have been able to collect, which I now venture to offer as a contribution to the forthcoming volume of our miscellany.

It is true that several of these documents have already been printed, but in a mutilated and garbled form, in translations or paraphrases, or in periodical works, of no general circulation, and of merely local interest.

I have added a few observations upon the pictures to which they refer, some of these unhappily no longer existing, but all of them once held in high estimation by the lovers of art.

Contemporary notices either of painters or their works are few and fragmentary — they are dispersed through works little accessible to the general reader, and some are altogether inedited.

Mr. Rawdon Brown has had op-

portunities such as no other investigator possesses of examining original papers, and he has made his selections with an amount of taste and industry such as are seldom found combined. These he has placed at my disposal. Whatever is new or curious in these sheets is to be attributed to him. His accuracy never fails; and if any errors occur in the following pages, the editor only is answerable.

*Titian.*¹

THE first picture by this great painter of which I have obtained any particular notice is now lost altogether, or mislaid beyond the reach of my researches.

It was placed in an honourable position in the Ducal Palace before the year 1517, and was consequently

¹ Born in 1477, died in 1576.

6 *Venetian Painters*

• painted at the period of the artist's highest power. Its history is singular, and throws some light on the Venetian diplomacy of the period.

The Venetians, just emerging from the dangers in which the League of Cambray had placed their state, were compelled to practise every art of diplomacy to separate their enemies and to obtain friends if possible amongst them. The French, less formidable than the Spaniards, more remote than the Germans, were the allies whose assistance they desired to secure. The favour of their generals and statesmen was eagerly sought and liberally paid for.

Marshal Lautrec¹ commanded the

¹ Odet de Foix, Seigneur de Lautrec, was nephew to the famous Gaston de Foix, and brother to Me. Chateaubriand, the mistress of Francis I. He was wounded at the battle of Ravenna, where his uncle lost his life, and he died whilst besieging Naples in the year 1528.

French army at Milan, and was also Governor of the whole province which Francis I. claimed as his appanage. A personage so important was not to be neglected; and the minute and accurate Marin Sanuto has preserved for us the items that composed the bribe or tribute with which the Senate endeavoured to propitiate him. A picture by Titian was included in it;—it is from this notice alone that any particulars concerning it have been preserved. It was an altar-piece, representing a group of saints, and was painted for the private chapel of the Doge. It must have been a fine painting, since we learn from the same authority that the alienation of it was generally disapproved.

Marino Sanuto,¹ *Diarii*, vol. xxiv. carte 174 e 174 tergo.

¹ The original manuscript is in the Marcian Library at Venice.

8 *Venetian Painters*

“ Da poi disnar fo conseio di x.
 “ con Zonta. Fu preso certe cosse
 “ per il presente si manda a Milan
 “ a Monsignor di Lutrech qual è
 “ per valuta di ducati 8000, con il
 “ qual va lucha Bufato, homo di S.
 “ Andrea Griti con 8 mulli, il qual
 “ e prima dito presente, uno balaso
 “ di peso carati 153 compra d ———
 “ (*mancante*) per ducati 3100, item do
 “ bazili d'oro mazizo, valeno ducati
 “ ——— item tapeti zimischisach (Da-
 “ mascene) no. ——— belissimi, item
 “ tapedi da tavola, item profumigi e
 “ odori per gran valuta. Item il
 “ quadro è fato per man di Tuziano
 “ di S. Michiel con S. Zorzi e S.
 “ Thodoro da le bande, qual è in
 “ palazzo dil principe: et non vien
 “ lodato il mandarlo.”¹

¹ I give the identical words of the annalist
 in the text, but a translation may not be
 unacceptable to those who are not familiar
 with the Venetian dialect of the 16th century,

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We learn from the same authority how anxiously these costly presents were expected, and how greatly they were esteemed :—

Carte 178.

“ 30 maggio 1517.

“ Da poi dinar fo conseio di X.

“ Da Milan dil Caroldo Segretario
“ di 26.

always used by him in his diaries :—“ 27 May, 1517. After dinner the Council of X., with their assessors, assembled. Certain objects were selected for the present to be made to Mr. Lautrec, which amounted to 8,000 ducats, and which will be taken by Luca Bufato, a servant of Ser Andrea Gritti, on eight mules; it consists of a ruby weighing 150 carats, bought of — (wanting), for 3,100 ducats; also two basins of massive gold, valued at — (wanting), most beautiful, also damask carpets, in number — (wanting), most beautiful; also a table cover, also perfumes and unguents of great price, also a picture drawn by the hand of Titian representing S. Michael with S. George and S. Theodore on each side, which is in the palace of the prince, and sending it was not approved.”

“Dil dito pur di 26, come in
 “questa matina scriffe ecc :— il qual
 “Lutrech fato pasqua di le pente-
 “coste certissimo partirà per franza,
 “perho voria li presenti fosseno
 “azonti per poterli dar prima che soa
 “Signoria partisse per franza.”¹

Carte 183 e 183 tergo.

“2 giugno 1517.

“Di Milan fo letere dil Caroldo
 “Segretario di 29 dil pasato come
 “ricevute nostre lettere di 28 zercha
 “li presenti vanno per dar a lo Ill^{mo}
 “Lutrech erano posti a camino
 “desidera presto i fiano de li per

¹ Despatches 178. May 30, 1517, Milan. Letters came from Milan from the secretary Caroldo, dated 29th ultimo, acknowledging the receipt of our letters of the 26th concerning the presents for the illustrious Lautrec, expressing his anxiety that they should arrive before his departure for France.

From the same source we hear that on Tuesday Lautrec departs for France, but of the presents we hear no tidings.

“ poterli a presentar avanti la sua
“ partita per franza.”¹

Carte 183.

“ 4 giugno 1517.

“ Da Milano fo lettere dil Segre-
“ tario nostro di — come lo illu-
“ strissimo Lutrech partiva quel zorno
“ sequeute di presenti nulla fa dove
“ i finno pur fosse li odori che molto
“ desidera dil resto si potra mandar
“ drio et per colegio fo scritto
“ batando a Crema mandi li odori per
“ stafeta, el resto fara portati drio.”²

¹ Despatches 183 and 183 *tergo*. June 2, 1517. Despatches arrived from Milan from the secretary Caroldo, dated the 29th ultimo, acknowledging the receipt of our letters of the 23rd concerning the gifts destined for the illustrious Lutrech, which were already on the road, and which he desired should be presented to him before his Lordship departs.

² Carte 167. 4th June, 1517. Letters arrived from Milan from our secretary announcing the departure of the illustrious Lautrec on the next day. We know nothing where the presents are, the perfumes he much wishes to

Carte 208.

"14 giugno 1517.

"Di Milan dil Caroldo Segretario nostro date a pinaruol adi — come era zonto li il presente manda la Signoria nostra a monsignor di Lutrech qual auto molto a grato e volse delligar le casse e veder fi che ringratia per infinite volte con altre parole ut in literis."¹

The picture seems to have excited less gratitude than the perfumes, and was an object of less solicitude. No farther mention is made of it.

receive at once, the other things might be sent after him. A letter was sent desiring the perfumes to be despatched by *estafette*, the rest might follow.

¹ June 14, 1517. Letters arrived from Milan from our secretary Caroldo, dated Pignerol, announcing the arrival of the presents sent by the Senate to Mr. Lutrech, who was greatly pleased, and insisted on opening the cases to examine them, in order that he might thank the seignory, with many other gracious expressions.

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It is neither in the gallery of the Louvre nor in any of the public collections in Europe.

*The Assumption of the Virgin, by Titian,
formerly in the church of S. Maria
Gloriosa de' Frari.*

The assumption of the Virgin, by Titian, often cited as his masterpiece, was painted in the early part of the sixteenth century. We learn from a contemporary,¹ that Titian had already emancipated himself from the dry manner of his early masters, Gentile and Gian Bellini, and devoted himself to the teaching of Giorgione, whose bold style and vigorous brush had greatly struck his imagination.

Titian had been associated with Giorgione, or rather perhaps had been

¹ Lodovico Dolce, "Dialogo della Pittura." Venezia, 1557.

employed by him, as an assistant in decorating the front of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi. He had painted a figure of a Judith with such vigour of colouring and such correctness of outline as to excite general attention, and Giorgione, the supposed author, received compliments and congratulations upon it which he was obliged to repudiate, and to acknowledge that the noble figure so much commended, was the work of a pupil.

This success, according to the same authority, raised Titian to such a height of reputation and fashion, that it became a sort of rivalry amongst the wealthy and the noble who should secure one of his historical pictures or who should sit to him for a portrait. The industry and application of the popular painter must have been equal to his genius; the amount of his authentic and unquestioned works is prodigious.

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One of his first and most eager patrons was Fra Germano, Prior of the convent of S. Maria Gloriosa de' Frari. This ecclesiastic, anxious to commemorate his name and to confer a benefit on the community over which he presided, employed Titian to paint a picture of unusual dimensions and of a popular subject, which he destined for the high altar of the conventual church.

The rich marble frame¹ or architrave destined to receive the picture was raised at once, but it was not till the painter had been stimulated by repeated remonstrances from the impatient Prior that the picture itself was finished.

This long-expected picture was

¹ The inscription on the frame runs thus :—
On the right, "Assumptæ in cælum . Virgini .
Æterni . Opificis . Matri." On the left,
"Frater Germanus . Hanc aram . erigi . curavit .
MDXVI."

fixed in its destined place and exhibited to the public gaze on the eve of St. Barnabas, in the year 1518. The event is recorded in the diaries of Marin Sanuto—"Yesterday, the 20th day of May, 1518, S. Barnardino's day, which day, according to a decree of the Senate, is kept holy, and on which none of the public offices open, the large picture on the high altar of S. Maria, the church of the Minor Friars, painted by Titian, was put up mounted in a lofty marble frame at the cost of Marco Zerman, now guardian of this monastery."

Beautiful as this picture is, and just as is the admiration it has excited, it yet must be admitted that it has faults beyond those which belong to an unmanageable and hacknied subject. The vigour of colouring, where the hues of the thick and ample draperies are harmonized and

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contrasted as in a bed of flowers, the varied expression of the apostles' upturned faces, marked by every emotion of astonishment, love, admiration, awe, and devotion—the attitudes corresponding to the leading characteristic of the countenances—all are admirable. The beatified Virgin fills the centre of the picture, backed by a dazzling glory, graduating from the intensity of white heat, as it diverges from the figure, into pale yellow and deep orange, till it terminates in dark red and a ruddy brown.

The figures and heads of the cherubim partake of the same varieties; those nearer the focus of attraction sport amongst amber clouds with limbs of rosy tint and wings of rainbow brightness, while others more distant are softened into pale and unsubstantial visions, with features undefined and eyes upturned in ineffable adoration.

The figure of the Virgin, clothed in flowing robes of blue and crimson, rises in all the vigour of youthful and substantial beauty ; the head is noble, the expression devout, but neither intense nor enthusiastic. The attitude it has been observed is not entirely free from constraint and affectation, a fault from which the Venetian painters are usually exempt ; but the dazzling brilliancy of the effect and the general harmony of colour disarm all criticism.

The treatment of such a subject necessitates the presence of the Deity, and in this fatal necessity the weakness of the composition lies.

M. Angelo and Raphael have failed in the attempt to represent what is in fact an impossible impersonation. Titian has been still less fortunate — a floating figure, foreshortened in an attitude neither noble nor imposing, bends forward to re-

ceive the Virgin, an angel supports the left arm, and a winged cherub, bearing the celestial crown of the Queen of Heaven, hovers on the right. The painter has not departed in any particular from the received and *liturgical* method of treating his subject. It is difficult to give dramatic interest to an incident so often represented and where so little variety of action is admitted; he wisely trusted to his pallet, and his confidence has been fully justified.

This picture, so warmly admired when first painted, and in our own days so highly vaunted, had at the close of the last century become so black and dingy from the smoke of torches and incense daily burnt before it, that it was overlooked by the French in the year 1796, and was contemptuously rejected as unworthy of a place in the museums of Paris.

Some time subsequently, when the Venetian Academy was instituted under the presidency of Count Ciconara, an order was procured to remove it from the church and to place it in the newly established national picture gallery.

Its state was deplorable, but a little attention convinced the sagacious president that it might be easily and safely restored.

The event surpassed his most sanguine expectations; the dirt was merely superficial, and had tended rather to preserve than to injure the painting. It was easily removed. The work of cleaning was performed in public, and the president used to relate with high satisfaction the delight of the spectators as the coats of dirt were rolled away under the careful manipulation of the cleaner, leaving the glowing canvases in all the freshness of its original colour.

*Votive picture of the Pefaro family
in the church of S. Maria Gloriosa
de' Frati.*

This church is rich in works of art, and though it has lost its famous altar-piece, it yet retains one of the finest pictures by Titian now existing, and which, too, like the Assumption, escaped the rapacity of the French.¹

This picture, representing various members of the Pefaro family kneeling before the throne of the Virgin, was painted shortly after the "Assumption" which I have attempted to describe. The date of the contract is 1519. Without this positive evidence I should have been inclined to fix its date before that of the "Af-

¹ Considered as the private property of the Pefaro family, and therefore not liable to confiscation according to the laws of spoliation established by the conquerors.

sumption;" for though the Virgin and child are painted with the ease and freedom of the later period of the master, in the portraits there is something of the stiffness that marks the transition from his first to his second manner.

It was a votive picture, ordered by Jacopo Pefaro, Bishop of Paphos, in gratitude for the success of the Papal and Venetian arms against the Turks in the year 1501, and for the peace which was the consequence of it. When finished, it was placed on the altar dedicated by the prelate to the Conception of the Virgin.

The bishop was distinguished rather as a diplomatist than as a churchman. He had filled places of confidence and dignity in the State, and had been Apostolic Legate on board the united Roman and Venetian fleet which had been blessed by Pope Alexander VI., and it is the

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arms of this Pontiff (the arms of the Borgias) which are emblazoned on the banner that an armed warrior is about to consecrate. The "turbaned Turk" this warrior leads forward denotes at once the scene of action and the triumphant result, which brings the converted infidel to the feet of the Virgin.

The bishop kneels beneath St. Peter, who, with the Gospel in his hands and the keys at his feet, fills the centre, and benignantly encourages the devotion of his clients.

On the right, the Virgin enthroned, with flowing veil over head and shoulders, supports the infant Saviour on her knee, and turns a glance towards the suppliant bishop, while the infant looks tenderly on St. Francis, who, with St. Anthony, commends his kneeling votaries to compassion and mercy.

The lofty pillars which flank the throne are lost in floating clouds which, with cherubs bearing aloft the emblematic cross, form the only canopy of the Virgin's throne.

The portraits, in attitudes nearly parallel, with clasped hands and composed countenances, represent a perfect confidence in celestial patronage, with little of the enthusiasm of erring and suppliant mortals.

The head of a beautiful youth in a gown of white satin presents a charming contrast to the harsher features and gorgeous ceremonial robes of his progenitors.

In this picture, as simple in its conception as admirable in execution, all is repose, abstraction, and silence; no part is prominent, all is subdued to the solemn devotional tone which pervades the whole.

The taste and propriety of these

votive pictures have been questioned, bringing, as they often do, persons engaged in one contemporaneous action who flourished in centuries and countries widely apart; but unreasonably as it appears to me. The representation is wholly emblematical, and no anachronism can fairly be charged where the presence of the Deity is supposed, before whom time, space, and national distinctions are annihilated.

The Bishop of Paphos, who was at once the patron of his family and of the painter, occupies the principal place in the picture. His title to pre-eminence on earth, and above the earth, he was not likely to forget. His epitaph on an adjacent tablet informs us, with more than the usual amount of monumental hyperbole, that he had been "*ex nobili inter Venetos, ad nobiliorem inter angelos, familiam dilatus.*"

The house of Pefaro is extinct,¹ and its possessions have passed into the still more illustrious family of Gradenigo, and with them the papers and muniments of its rich archives. Amongst these is the original compact and receipt of Titian for this picture, a copy of which I have been fortunate enough to procure, and of which the reader will find a fac-simile at the close of this notice.

The Pefaro family was amongst the richest, if not the most ancient, of the Venetian aristocracy. Like all the Venetian nobles of the day, they were merchants, and they had carried on an extensive and lucrative trade with England. Their burial place is in the Franciscan church

¹ The last of the race died at Bath, a voluntary exile, in the first half of the present century.

which they had done so much to adorn; and near the altar of the Conception stands the superb mausoleum of Doge Giovanni Pesaro—who wore the ducal bonnet for a single year, from 1658 to 1659—the most costly monument ever raised to a Christian prince. It reaches from the floor to the roof of the lofty aisle, and is as wide as the façade of a moderate-sized church. Four colossal statues of negroes support the superincumbent weight. In the first compartment appears the sarcophagus in which the body of the Doge is interred; an inscription records the number of years he had lived, and the date of his death—"vixit, devixit;" above, under a canopy, in robes of state, and crowned with the ducal half-mitre, in an attitude of lofty complacency, he claims the honour of a royal resurrection, and an inscription in-

forms us of the fact—"Hic revixit." The Cardinal Virtues help to fill the enormous space allotted to the sepulchre, and add to its costliness. The materials are the richest, the workmanship the most elaborate—it is, indeed, a monument of magnificence and of pride, and, it must be added, of bad taste.

On the other side of the church the monument of Canova presents a contrast the most striking. The design was the sculptor's own, destined for a cenotaph to be erected to Titian. It is large and costly, many figures adorn it, and for a time it was admired as a model of classic purity. But what a jumble of reality and allegory, what poverty of invention, what meanness of execution!

"A farce with neither truth nor art
"To please the Fancy, or to touch the heart."¹

¹ Crabbe.

Titian's Receipts.

The receipt for Bishop Pefaro's altar piece, which is preserved with jealous care in the Gradenigo muniment room, is wholly in the handwriting of Titian, and is, I believe, the only genuine autograph of the great painter existing. He wrote with difficulty, and in a style and character which prove how little his habits were literary. It is written in the Venetian dialect of that day, not very intelligible in the present, out of Venice itself; but it is curious and interesting, and I now give it in fac-simile from the original, with a transcript which I doubt not will be useful.

The Pefaro papers have been carefully catalogued and arranged, and this receipt is bound in a thick volume containing many other documents of interest. It was not with-

out considerable difficulty, and through the intercession of irresistible influence, that I got a sight of this precious volume, and procured the permission to have a photograph of the receipt.

Copies of Titian's letters and facsimiles of the original manuscripts have been printed at different times, and amongst the papers of Apostolo Zeno, in the Marcian Library, and in other depositories, there are letters purporting to be in his handwriting, not one of which I believe to be genuine, though written by his direction and really despatched to his correspondents. The style is totally different, and even the signature varies. He is no longer "Tuciã dipintor," but "Titiano Vicellio." They differ in manner more widely still; instead of the modest simplicity of his early style, there is an effort at Tuscan purity of diction, and in one of them

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is an allusion, light and unbecoming, if not absolutely profane, which much more resembles the style of his friend Aretino than that of the simple, unpresuming painter.

“ + 1519 adi 28 Aprile in Venetia. R. Jo Ticiã depintor da la S. de mō Signor veschovo de baso da cha da pefarro ducati diexe per parte de una pala che io ha a far a sua S. in la giesfia de li frati minori.”

“ Adi 12 zugno R^{vij} dal mō Signor sopra dito ducati diexe a cōto ut sopra.”

“ Adi 23 septimbrio R^{vi} dal mō Signor sopra dito ducati 15 cioe ducati quindexe per cason ut sopra.”

“ It. adi dito receuj da Sua S. per el telaro de legno et tele et fatura de dito telaro ducati fie Et Io ticiã o scripto.”

“ It. adi 13 April 1522 ricevi io

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“ Ticia sopra dito qui i cassa mia di
“ el sopradito Remo. mōsignor
“ ducati diese a lire sej et soldi
“ quatro per ducato.”

“ It. adi 5 Mazo 1522.

“ Rvj io Ticia dal sopra dito ducati
“ diexe a lire sej et soldi 4 per ducato.”

“ It. di 7 Septimbrio contada da
“ el Rmo. mō Signor ducati dieze.”

“ 1525 adi 20 de Zugno Rvj io
“ Titiā sopra dito ducati quindexe
“ cioe d. 15.”

“ Adi 30 April 1526.

“ Contadi ut sopra da el Rmo. S.
“ mō ducati sedexe.”

“ 1526 adi 27 Mazo.

“ Rvj io Tician sopra scripto el
“ compito pagamento de la d^a
“ palla.”

It will be observed that the price paid for this picture, including the canvass on which it is painted, was ninety-two ducats.

Titian painted nearly all the portraits of the Doges who had filled the ducal chair during his long life; and we know by the entries in the State account books¹ that he received for these sums not exceeding twenty-five ducats.² He was the most popular portrait painter of his day; and few of the remarkable men and beautiful women of Spain and Italy who had the opportunity of sitting to him did not avail themselves of it, the prices paid by them were certainly not higher than those given by the State. There is not the slightest appearance, however, of

¹ See Gio. Bat. Lorenzi, "Monumenti per servire alla Storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia." In this valuable compilation all these details are preserved, and every particular of interest has been gleaned with equal judgment and accuracy from the voluminous documents now existing connected with the history of that monumental edifice.

² The ducat was worth six lire five soldi.

haste or carelessness about any of these ; on the contrary, they are very highly finished, and most of them possess that indescribable air of truth that stamps them at once as strong likenesses.

Fuseli styles Titian "the father of portrait-painting ;" he has never, indeed, been surpassed, very seldom equalled. His principle was the right one ; a close resemblance was the first object ; he obviously scorned to flatter, to cancel the defects that accident or the hand of time had stamped on the face. The individual was represented in his best looks, and in his best attire, standing or sitting in an attitude of perfect ease and simplicity, every part carefully worked, but kept in due subordination. In painting women, young or old, he pursued the same plan ; their dress is often rich and even magnificent, but it is never

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suffered to interfere with the effect, or to distract attention from the head.

He is equally attentive in the arrangement of the background. It is usually simple and unobtrusive in colour, but suited to the dress or complexion of the sitter. If a scene or an object be required to identify the person represented, it is always indicated with precision, but with all due subordination to the principal object.

St. Peter Martyr, by Titian.

Formerly in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

Dal Notatorio 7. Capi del Consiglio de' Dieci—1525-1527. C. 57.

“ 1525 Die 30 Novembris.

“ Li infracripti el^{mi} Sigⁱ Capi del
“ Ill^{mo} Consiglio di X. vista et in-

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“ tesa la oblazione facta dal gastaldo
 “ et compagni a la bancha de la
 “ schuola di S. Pietro Martyre in
 “ la chiesa de S. Zuan e polo di voler
 “ far a spese loro proprie la palla de
 “ laltar de S. Petro Martyre pre-
 “ dicto, et non a spese de li altri
 “ fratelli di essa schola si come se
 “ hano sottoscripti et obligati.
 “ Considerata ben tal oblazione do-
 “ vere esser utile alla università
 “ promettendo etiam loro de la
 “ bancha far depenzer la ditta Pala
 “ cum ogni possibile solemnita, et
 “ omnibus bene pensitatis hano ter-
 “ minato et per virtù de la presente
 “ terminano le Sue Ex^{me} et sta-
 “ tuiscono che 'l sia accepta la obla-
 “ tione del castaldo et compagni de
 “ la bancha predicta videlizet che
 “ loro a sue proprie spese et de i sui
 “ danari facino far dicta palla in
 “ quella più excellentia che se potrà
 “ non tochando un foldo de quelli

“ della schola. Cum questa etiam
“ conditione che se per lo advenir
“ el fara data alcuna helemosina
“ offerta over oblatione alla dicta
“ schuola etiam per coadiuvar el far
“ de dicta Palla tute tal offerte et
“ oblatione siino applicate ad altre
“ spese et beneficii et non per la
“ palla acciò che quella tuta sii per-
“ fecta de i danari di quelli de la
“ bancha, come se offeriscono et
“ questo non obstante la parte presa
“ in contrario nel capitolo de essa
“ schuola; et hano ordinato se ne
“ faci la presente nota ad intelli-
“ gentia de tuti.”

“ POLO NANI,

“ ALOYSIUS GRADONICO,

“ Capi Ill^{mi} Consili X.

“ Lecta de verbo ad verbum se
“ subscripserint in dato Ex-
“ emplo.”

“ 1525 die 26 Januarj
“ incisa per deliberationem
“ Conselij X.”

In the year 1525, the Gaftaldo, or Steward of the Confraternity of S. Pietro Martire, together with certain brothers of that society, offered to present an altar-piece to their proprietary chapel, in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The chiefs of the Council of X., to whom the propofal was referred, readily fanced it, and the picture was completed about the year 1533,¹ at the time when Titian's powers were matured, and his genius fully developed. His engagements at the time, however, were fo numerous, that even *his* industry could not keep pace with the impatience of his employers, and it was not without re-

¹ I have not afcertained the exact date. Ticozzi fpeaks of it as having been done "fome years" in 1537. Marin Sanuto's diaries clofe in 1533. It is probable that, had the picture been completed before that time, it would have found a place in his annals.

iterated entreaties and even threats, that the picture was completed.

His fame had extended far beyond the precincts of his country, he was courted by the kings of Spain and of France; and if for a moment he was dazzled by their flattery, it is to the credit of his patriotism that he could never be induced to fix himself permanently in a foreign state.

S. Peter Martyr was a saint in the order of S. Dominico, to which he belonged, hardly inferior in popularity to the great Founder himself. His fate was tragical, and his courage in meeting it had been indomitable. His martyrdom was a favourite theme for preachers, and a subject for painters.

It must be remembered that the manner of treating the events of scripture and the accredited legends of the church by painters and sculptors was prescribed by liturgical

rules, from which no departure was permitted.

The lives of the Saints and Martyrs, written by authors of accredited authority, were received with little less veneration than the sacred volume itself. The legend of S. Peter Martyr had received the sanction of his order. He was in every way a remarkable man—an enthusiast and a persecutor; firmly convinced himself of the truth of the doctrines he taught, he had neither hesitation nor remorse in forcing them on others. Those who accepted them not were the enemies of God, and he deemed he did God service in condemning them to death. In pursuance of this task, he totally disregarded his own safety; and if he fell in the prosecution of it, he would the sooner receive the crown of martyrdom which he knew awaited him.

We learn from his history, that, while travelling between Milan and Como with another monk of his order, he was overtaken by assassins and slain. The zeal with which he had preached a crusade against the Albigensian heresy, and the success that had attended his efforts, had inspired the professors of it with the keenest desire of revenge. It was while passing through a forest that he was overtaken by his enemies, thrown to the ground, and despatched with the blows of an axe. His companion escaped the same fate by a precipitate flight. Utterly powerless in the hands of his assassins but supported by his pious enthusiasm, a celestial vision opens before his upturned eyes, and beckoning seraphs bear aloft the emblematic palm-branch he so long had coveted. He sealed his last confession with his blood; and dipping his

finger in his welling fide, he writes the word "credo" on the earth, and expires.

This subject, so frequently painted, was invariably treated in exact accordance with the letter of the accepted legend. By the earlier masters, with the quaint simplicity of the period, the letters composing the word "credo" having a prominence both in size and colour that hardly accords with historic probability or picturesque effect. Without departing from his brief, Titian produced a work as wholly original as though it had never been treated before. This was one of the great preceptive pictures of the world.¹ It had been

¹ Aretino, in a letter addressed to the Florentine artist Tribolo, calls this picture "divine," and it seems from the same letter that Tribolo himself, who was probably a better judge of art than his correspondent, had pronounced that there was nothing in Italy more

pronounced by judges to unite the accumulated powers of the great masters of the art. In colour, the master-piece of Titian, with the grandeur of M. Angelo's composition, the ingenuity of Raphael in telling a story, and we may add a representation of landscape scenery such as was never imagined before, and has never since been surpassed.

If Titian was the father of portrait-painting, he was the inventor of landscape. It would be vain to heap technical praise on a work, the merits of which have never been questioned, but one remark must be made, as this picture formed an epoch in the history of art. It is the first in point of date in which the conventional low horizon was

beautiful than Titian's *S. Pietro Martire*. Posterity could but repeat these well-merited eulogiums—alas—alas!

adopted, an invention to which it owed much of its marvellous effect.

It is extraordinary that after this discovery was once made, and the effect recognised, the example should not have been universally followed, but far from this, even Titian himself did not always adopt it, and in the other schools of Italy the high horizon was maintained with its interminable grades of distant perspective till the end of the century.

The scene of the miracle is a wooded landscape, branching trees, and foliage rich, broad and large, so as to assist the general effect and not to draw attention from it, and around the group an opening towards the centre affords a glimpse of towers and houses and varied plains, while purple mountains in the distance indicate the scene of the crime, but no help is at hand, and a galloping warrior seen in the middle distance reminds

us that the murderer was not unsupported.

This fine picture enjoyed at the time it was painted the high reputation it has ever since sustained.

Ticozzi in his life of Titian records that one Daniel Nis, probably a Dutch picture dealer, tempted the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo with the offer of eighteen thousand scudi (a price in those days unheard of), but that the Senate interposed and prohibited the sale under the penalty of death.¹

In the present day the total destruction of this picture was witnessed with more calmness, and its loss is the more lamentable, as no tolerable copy

¹ This circumstance is recorded by Marco Boschini in doggerel verses in his "Arte del navager pittoresco Veneto."

"Disdotto mille scudi sta esquidita

"Zogia da Daniel Nis fu negoziada.

"Una chi comanda ghe tagiè la strada,

"Col dir, lassela, pena la vita."

exists. I was at Venice when this irreparable loss was sustained, the circumstances were singular and mysterious. This picture, together with a fine altarpiece by Gian Bellini, had been removed from their place in the church to be relined and cleaned, and they were placed temporarily in the chapel of the Rosario,¹ where they could be seen in a better light, perhaps with the idea of transporting them ultimately to the Academy.

On the morning of the 16th of July, 1867, which was dark and rainy, all Venice was alarmed with the report that the church of S. Giovanni e Paolo was in flames and that the chapel of the Rosario had been already consumed. It proved to be too true. A fire had broken out in the night, and had not been dis-

¹ This chapel was built by the Confraternity of the Rosario in commemoration of the victory of Curzola in 1571.

covered till the church was opened in the morning, when the mischief was already complete. The pictures, which stood upon easels on the floor of the chapel, were totally destroyed, so were all the other pictures which adorned the walls—the magnificent “Crucifixion” of Tintoretto (of which no print or copy exists), the carvings of Brustolon, and the clever but mannered marbles of Bonazza and his school.

How had the accident happened?—was it indeed an accident? Such were the questions eagerly asked. The surmises were numerous and various, but few attributed the misfortune to chance. Some imagined a sudden and intemperate burst of zeal on the part of Protestants who had taken this tardy and inconsiderate mode of manifesting their revenge against such an inveterate enemy to their sect as S. Pietro Martire. Others

again suggested that the monks themselves, resenting their treatment by the government, and the total suppression of their convent, which was threatened, had determined that the brightest ornament of their church should not survive their expulsion, and had themselves been the perpetrators of the crime. But no one accepted either of these solutions, though for a time they were repeated by the zealots of the "Black" and "Red" parties in Venice.¹

There was also a third surmise,²

¹ The names by which the clerical and revolutionary parties are distinguished.

² Another suggestion was also made that had even less of probability, and involved a far heavier charge of guilt. It was hinted that the fire had been purposely kindled by some daring depredator, who, with his accomplices, had got possession of Titian's picture, and had set fire to the chapel to conceal his theft. It was confidently predicted by those who adopted this theory that the picture would

which was not the less readily credited in private because it was not openly advanced.

It was remembered that the Dominican monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo had given deep offence to a powerful and unscrupulous party, and that to this party, the act of revenge might be attributed.

The religious superiors of the convent had incensed the Republican party by refusing to perform the funeral service over the bodies of the Bandiera brothers,¹ two martyrs of

one day be offered for sale in America. Such a surmise could hardly be adopted seriously. I mentioned it to the Cavaliere Fabris, the inspector of pictures in the ducal palace, and he settled the question at once by telling me that he had penetrated into the chapel before the rubbish of cinders had been removed, and had possessed himself of a fragment of the canvas on which the picture was painted, sufficient to satisfy every one that its destruction had been complete.

¹ These unfortunate young men had been

that cause, and even refused to sanction the solemn function that the Government had commanded, by their presence. The silence of the

banished from Italy on account of their participation in some of the plots by which that country was for ever disturbed. They were residing at Malta in the year 1841, and it was from thence that they made an ill-advised descent on the coast of Italy. They landed at Brindisi, proclaimed a republic, made an abortive attempt to corrupt the fidelity of the garrison and to raise the country. Their party was speedily dispersed, the ringleaders were seized, tried by a court-martial, condemned to death, and shot in the trenches of the fortress. They were attended in death by a priest, and buried with the usual decencies enjoined by the church.

The attempt was so hopeless and so totally unsupported that it was surmised the contrivers could hardly be of sound mind.

Soon after the political independence of Italy had been achieved by the Prussian successes in Bohemia, all those who had formerly laboured in the cause were regarded as heroes, and the sufferers in it as martyrs. The Bandieras were not forgotten. Their bodies were

Government, the neglect of all inquiry, the stifling even of all investigation, the reserve of the daily press, seemed to give colour to the surmise that the authorities were afraid of making discoveries which might fix

exhumed and brought to Venice, and a public funeral was decreed. Intramural interments had long been prohibited, but an exception was made in their favour, and the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo was fixed for the place of burial. A funeral procession was commanded, with all the pomp that bands of music, flags flying, and strings of gondolas could give it.

The priests objected that it was against canonical rules to perform the burial service twice over the same body; and the superior of the convent not only refused to perform the service himself, but prohibited the attendance of all the clergy of the church. A priest was brought from the mainland, who was with difficulty persuaded to officiate, and the Dominican monks incurred a still deeper measure of hatred from their inveterate enemies. It was soon after this event that the fire occurred, and those were not wanting who traced one event from the other as cause and effect.

guilt on parties whom they dared not punish.

It was not till weeks and months had elapsed that the obvious solution was suggested. It was then remembered that torches used in processions and in the illumination of altars were sometimes deposited in this chapel. It was also known that the sacristan was not to be trusted, and that he was in the daily habit of deep drinking, which very frequently degenerated into absolute intoxication, and that to his carelessness when in this state, the calamity might fairly be attributed. This hypothesis, the most plausible and at the same time the most obvious, did not meet with immediate favour, but the probability of a gratuitous crime should not be readily admitted, and when no reasonable motive can be assigned for it, it is but fair to suppose it has not been committed.

St. Christopher, fresco by Titian.

This fresco is painted over the door of a narrow staircase in the Ducal palace leading from the private apartment of the Doge into the chapel of the palace, called the "Chiesetta." It is now disused; it has neither beauty of design nor decoration, and the steps are steep, rough, and uneven; it would seem strange that Titian should have been invited to ornament such a spot with an important work. The door is low, and the space between it and the trunk vault is filled up with the painting representing S. Christopher bearing the Infant Saviour across a river. It is the only fresco now remaining by the master in Venice.¹ The precise date is uncer-

¹ It is said that several houses on the Grand Canal were painted in fresco by him. A

tain, but, for several reasons, may, I think, be fixed about the year 1523, the year in which Andrea Gritti was elected Doge. This prince was a devoted partizan of the French, and it was that same year in which they descended again into Lombardy and were first heard of at S. Cristoforo, a village a few miles from Milan. Gritti loved the arts, and was a patron and admirer of Titian. He had daily occasion to pass this staircase, and with the taste for decoration that distinguished that age and country, he longed to ornament the bare walls and vacant spaces.

By the selection of the subject, he indicated and gratified his political feelings without too openly offend-

vestige of a figure may still be observed by his hand on the front of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi. The rest of the façade, which was formerly rich and picturesque in colour, has recently been whitewashed.

ing those of his countrymen who did not participate in them.

This theory, at once ingenious and plausible, was suggested to me by my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, whose close study of the history of those times has enabled him to discover and explain the significance of monuments and emblems which have totally escaped the attention of less intelligent and less well informed investigators.

The legend of S. Christopher, which has been so great a favourite in the church, and the frequent subject of illustration, has little of interest or romance to recommend it. S. Christopher was a native of Judea and the subject of a Canaanitish prince of great power and renown. He was a giant twelve cubits in height and of terrible aspect. His ambition made him desirous of serving a more powerful master than

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his native prince, and he accordingly changed his allegiance, but observing that his new master crossed his brow and showed symptoms of alarm when the name of the Devil was mentioned, he inferred that this Devil must be more powerful than his master, and to him he resolved to proffer his service. So manful a recruit had no difficulty in securing acceptance, but here again he was doomed to disappointment. However potent his present lord might be, he observed that the sight of a cross always inspired him with terror, and that rather than pass that emblem he would take the roughest and most circuitous roads. He enquired the cause, and for the first time heard the name of Christ. He now resolved that Him only would he serve, but he knew not where to seek Him. A holy hermit to whom he applied, instructed him, and re-

commended him to repair to a deep river, and that on the banks of it he should abide and assist the pilgrims who desired to cross the stream, a task which his size and strength easily enabled him to perform. With girded loins and staff in hand he plied his trade for some time, till one night he was summoned from this couch to perform this office for an infant. He placed him on his shoulders and plunged into the stream, but the waters rose and simultaneously the weight of the child so much increased that it was not without strenuous effort and the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in reaching the opposite shore. His task performed, he placed the child on the bank, saying, "O child, thou hast put my life in great peril, and thy weight is such, that the weight of the whole world could hardly be greater." To whom the in-

fant replied—"Wonder not at the
"weight, O Christopher, for not
"only hast thou borne on thy
"shoulders the whole world, but
"Him also who created the world.
"I am Christ, thy king, to whom
"thou hast rendered much service;
"and that thou mayest learn the truth
"of what I tell thee, when thou re-
"turnest, plant thy staff in the earth
"beside thy hut, and it will blossom
"and bear fruit." With that he
vanished from sight.¹

The legend can hardly be rendered by the brush. The gigantic limbs of the saint seem needless to

¹ The sequel of the tale is soon told. The giant is converted, becomes a zealous Christian warrior, is exposed to all sorts of temptations, and ends his life as a Christian martyr, giving the best security of his sincerity by forgiving his enemies and curing the blindness of the tyrant who doomed him to death.—VORAGINE, *Legenda Aurea*.

bear so slight a burden. There is no apparent proportion between the strength put forth and the object to be attained. The subject is almost grotesque, the contrast too great, between the Herculean members of the giant and the infantine dimensions of the child.

The figure of the faint, his lower limbs immersed in water, his staff in his hand, is devoid of grace and dignity; nor is this fine fresco without other sins than those inherent to the subject. The lower limbs of the giant are small in proportion to the size of his arms and shoulders. The head is too large, but it is in itself beautiful; it is turned towards the child. The legend would demand that the expression of the features should denote surprise and awe, if not terror. I can discover no indication of such emotions. Regular features, rich colouring, and

flowing dark beard, denote "man-hood in glory," and those who have discovered more, have been guided rather by their imagination than by their eyes, and can hardly have interpreted the legend correctly.

The child, with his feet round the neck of the giant, holds the globe in one hand and signs a blessing with the other. The face is infantine, smiling and sweet, with almost a playful expression. His only garment is a white tunic, and a mantle floating above his head gives variety and balance to the composition. The bronzed and brawny legs of the giant are naked half-way up the thigh, his shirt is white, the vest green, and green of a tone and hue that only a Venetian brush can render, the mantle is of a deep crimson. Here the horizon is low, and the towers of Venice, with pardonable inaccuracy, appear in the dif-

tance below the knees of the saint, while the water he is treading does not rise higher than the ankle. The group is relieved against light and floating clouds; the tone of colour never has been surpassed, even by Titian. The hand of the restorer has never touched it. The remote and unfrequented position of this invaluable work has been its preservation. In a few places the plaster is discoloured and has fallen off, but not in quantities sufficient to disturb effect. Two iron cramps have been driven into the wall on each side of the figure, about the height of the knee, probably for the purpose of holding a torch, and a few spots of whitewash have fallen upon it from the pot of the zealous house-painter in cleaning the walls and roof.

Soon after this period we find a notice of the death of Titian's wife,

and the distress the loss occasioned him, with the consequent interruption of his labours.

Mr. Rawdon Brown, in a visit to Mantua, discovered a letter in the Ducal archives written by the agent of the Duke of Mantua at Venice to the Secretary Giacomo Calandra, dated Venice, Aug. 6, 1530, of which he made a copy; it contains this passage:

“ Il nostro maestro Ticiano è
“ tutto sconsolato per la morte di sua
“ moglie che fu sepolita hieri. Lui
“ m' ha detto che per il travaglio in
“ che l' è stato per la infermità di
“ detta sua moglie non ha potuto
“ lavorar al ritratto de la Signora
“ Cornelia nè al quadro de le nude
“ ch' el fa per nostro illustrissimo
“ Signore, qual farà una bella cosa,
“ et crede di averlo fornito per tutto
“ il presente mese.

“ Eſſo Maestro Ticiano deſide-

“ rava sappar come il Signor nostro
“ è restato ben satisfatto del S. Se-
“ bastiano ben che el dica che sia
“ cosa da donzena al rispetto de
“ l' altro dono ch' el farà del quadro
“ de le nude, et che solamente lo ha
“ donato per un intertenimento, et
“ per segno della servitù che porta
“ a sua Excellentia.” ¹

¹ Our painter, Titian, is in deep distress for the loss of his wife, who was buried yesterday. He tells me that, on account of the anxiety her illness has occasioned him, he has been unable to work on the portrait of the Lady Cornelia, or on the picture of the naked women which he is painting for our illustrious master, which will be a beautiful work, and which he thinks will be finished in the course of the present month.

The above painter, Titian, wishes to know if our master is pleased with the S. Sebastian which he has sent him, although he says it is worthless in comparison with the other picture of the naked women, which he will present to him, and which he has only sent in token of his devotion and to amuse him in the meantime.

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I have searched in vain to discover what has been the fate of these pictures. The greater part of the Mantuan Gallery is now at Munich, but it contains no pictures answering to this description.

Titian has painted the martyrdom of S. Sebastian more than once, and the Orleans gallery contained two beautiful pictures now in the collection at Bridgewater House, either of which might answer the description of the "nude" upon which Titian bestowed so much care. I allude to the Baths of Diana, one in which she punishes the temerity and indiscretion of Acteon, the other in which she discovers and exposes the frailty of Calisto.

*The "Fede" by Titian in the Ducal
palace.*

Besides the portraits of the Doges which were painted for the frieze round the Grand Council Chamber, it had been decreed in the reign of Andrea Gritti that the walls of the official apartments of the Ducal palace should be hung with pictures illustrative of some feat of arms, or historical event, in which the different Doges had taken part.

It was a compliment to Titian's celebrity, that it was to him that this honourable commission was offered. He accepted it, and those great works which he produced were declared by contemporary judgment to have been worthy of the artist and the country.¹ All these

¹ At a much earlier period of his life we find Titian applying to the authorities for employ-

pictures unfortunately perished in the destructive fire of 1574, and were subsequently replaced by works of far inferior artists. The "Fede" alone escaped.

Doge Antonio Grimani died in 1523. He had been prosecuted as a state criminal, had been tried, con-

ment in the Ducal palace. In a petition dated 1513, reproduced in fac-simile in Signor Lorenzi's valuable compilation, already quoted, he entreats to be allowed to fill a place in the great council chamber which had been avoided on account of its size and position by his predecessors, and not, he says, from cupidity or love of gain, but for the honour of serving his prince, and of leaving some memorial of himself in his native country.

The petition is curious in itself and is an interesting example of the simplicity of the age and of the modesty of its principal artists. I am much tempted to reproduce it *in extenso*, but I refrain, as the reader will find it at pages 157-8 of the "Monumenti," a magnificent volume which no library should be without, in which there is a compartment devoted to art and to topography.

demned and banished, and it was not till extreme old age that he had been reconciled to his countrymen and raised to the Ducal throne. His enemies were no doubt still numerous in the Senate, and a painful impression of defeat and humiliation was connected with his name. Many of those were still living who had seen him land in chains on the Piazzetta and conducted as a man sorely tainted to the state prisons of the Ducal palace.

It was not till thirty-two years after his death, when these memories had faded away, and when his wealthy family had recovered all its influence, that the order was given to paint the picture illustrative of his life and services. The subject was well chosen. He had been unfortunate as a commander and as a negociator, but his piety, fortitude, and patriotism had never deserted

him, and the heavenly favour which was promised to him in a vision had been his support in adversity.

The picture represents the vision that had visited his waking or slumbering eyes while on his melancholy return to his native city. The unpopular warrior, habited in the Ducal mantle and attended by a page bearing the insignia of royalty beside him, kneels in adoration and confidence before the figure of white-robed Faith bearing the cross and chalice in her hands.

The composition is well balanced, and the figure of the Doge is finely coloured, though perhaps less happily conceived. The page in a crimson mantle is useful as a contrast in youthful grace and beauty, and in gorgeous colouring. Faith is heavy, her mantle is hard in outline and the shadows are opaque. The cherub balancing the foot of the cross has

much of the grace that Titian invariably lends his children, but the halo round the allegoric figure is thick and gravelly, and does not recall the glorious effulgence in which the Virgin of the Assumption mounts to heaven. S. Mark, on one side of the picture, designed but not finished by Titian, is a noble figure, and balances and contrasts with the group of the Doge and his page.

This picture, so long delayed (to which circumstance we owe its preservation from the fire of 1574), was painted when Titian was in his seventy-ninth year. It does not denote the vigour and clearness of his earlier works, but if not a master-piece it is a noble ornament to the well-proportioned vestibule designed by Palladio from whence the ante-sala to the Senate Hall opens.

Tintoretto, born 1512, died 1594.

IF TINTORETTO were inferior to Titian in care, in composition, and in the scientific arrangement of his groups, he was perhaps his superior in genius and not inferior as a colourist. With a rapidity of brush never equalled, and a vigour of imagination unsurpassed, he sometimes rivalled the greatest masters of every school in their varied excellences. His facility in composition prevented the possibility of mannerism, and in his most careless and most hasty works the power of his genius is sometimes most manifest.

He was a general favourite with his countrymen, and he rarely, if ever, absented himself from his native city. Admirable as a portrait painter, and willing to lend his pencil to mere decoration, every patrician

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house in Venice was full of his pictures; an ancestor by Tintoretto long ornamented every saloon, and the churches of Venice are still rich in his best works.

He seems to have been greatly patronized by the Brotherhood of S. Marco. Their albergo or guest-chamber contained some of his finest pictures, and many portraits of the Brotherhood in their rich ceremonial robes may still be found in the apartments of the Academia, the Confraternity having been long suppressed. Their library, furniture, and pictures are dispersed, and their beautiful Scuola, one of the finest works of the Lombardi, is now turned into an hospital.

In a confraternity of which S. Mark was the patron, the events of his life would naturally form favourite subjects for representation. The famous "Schiavo," liberated by his ac-

tive intervention, was placed in the public gallery when restored to Venice in 1815, after its journey to Paris, and the "Rape of the body of S. Mark" found a place in the royal palace, where it still may be seen.

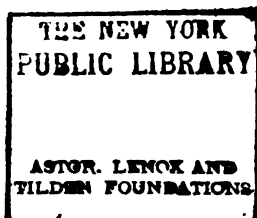
The rape of the body of S. Mark took place in the year 828, and was a private enterprise conducted by two Venetian traders of the name of Bon of Malamocco and Rustico of Torcello. The body of S. Mark reposed at Alexandria, in a shrine richly adorned with marbles; but here it was not destined to remain. When the two patriotic Venetians, Bon and Rustico, had landed in Egypt and proceeded, according to custom, to offer up their devotions at the shrine of S. Mark, they were alarmed by hearing that the caliph had stripped the marbles from the mausoleum to ornament his palace, and that the guardians of the sepulchre feared a still greater defe-

cration. It was resolved to avoid such profanation by the speedy removal of the body to a place of permanent security. All offers and entreaties having failed to induce the infidel governor to resign the relics, the two ingenious Venetians had recourse to stratagem. Their vessel was anchored in the harbour near the city, and one stormy night they accomplished their purpose, and by a plan more ludicrous than edifying. They placed the sacred relics on a car and covered them with sides of bacon and substantial hams, thus presenting nothing to the eyes of the Turks but the flesh of the unclean animal which they abominated.

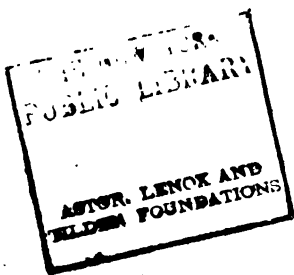
The Venetians had rightly calculated; all the true believers fled in every direction from the unctuous spectacle and left the gates unguarded, and thus enabled the pious robbers to reach their vessel unsuspected and

unpursued. Such was the subject that Tintoretto was ordered to paint for the richest apartment of the Confraternity.

Unprepossessing as the subject was, the genius of Tintoretto overcame the difficulties; but it must be owned he has not succeeded in telling the story so as to be intelligible. All that is revolting is eliminated from the representation, and there is no trace of the flesh of the hog which was really the principal means by which the rape was achieved. The scene of the robbery resembles more the Piazza of S. Marco at Venice than a street in Alexandria; the action of the group surrounding the naked body denotes hurry and anxiety, as of men engaged in performing some deed in which interruption was dreaded. The body of the saint is preserved from corruption, and appears like that of a man just cut off in all the vigour and come-



7
gosto de mi far palma de
amor comprado da passaro u



1523

ingor sta san pau Camo my hons
elimo iabastia ^{de muni} ofrally da mutagunna

liness of youth. In the distance the Turks are seen flying beneath the arcades with a precipitation and a regularity which nothing in the representation seems to warrant.

There is a sketch for this picture, probably the first conception of the painter, in the gallery at Brussels. The subject is treated in a more imaginative style, and with a more daring brush; the body of the saint is enveloped in a shroud; the precipitation and alarm of the captors is more vividly portrayed. The space is wider and less definitely sketched, the clouds are lowering and heavy, flashes of forked lightning bring parts of the scene into lurid brightness, while that portion of it which it suited not the artist's plan to define is wrapped in congenial darkness. The scared and bewildered groups of Turks seem flying from the violence of the storm; their flight is natural, and has none of

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the concerted regularity which gives almost a comic turn to the finished picture.

The picture was presented by a certain Signor Tomaso da Ravenna, a physician, and a brother of the Confraternity, for which, as we learn from the receipt, he paid eighty ducats.

The receipt is preserved in the Venetian archives, and I subjoin a fac-simile of it, and also a printed transcript.

“ 1568 adi 12 novembrio in
Venetia.

“ El se decia per el presente scri-
“ to come io iacomo tentoreto pitor
“ prometo depenzer agrotescche agua-
“ zo overo aolio come melio stara et
“ desopra con paesi et figurete come
“ fu portado el corpo de san marco
“ in venetia et le cornise dipinte di
“ pietra batuda et le porte a marmori
“ overo grotescche come melio stara
“ et questo prometo al magnifico

“vardian grando dela scola de miser
“san marco el fignior tomaso da rave-
“na degnissimo cavalier et dottor el
“qual mi da per sua cortesia ducati
“otanta per tal pagamento.

“et io iacomo feci di man propria
“Recevi abon conconto ducati 40.

“Io pre Giulio Baggio da Bassan fui pre-
“sente a quanto di sopra e scritto.

“Io batista da lolmo strasarol foi presente
“quanto e sopra scritto.”

It is to be remarked that, though Tintoretto received so small a sum for this fine picture, ten years later we find him paid at a much higher rate for the four pictures he painted in the anti-collegio in the Ducal palace, superior, it may be, in finish and execution, if inferior in genius and imagination.

Paolo Veronese.¹

*Examination of Paolo Veronese before the
Inquisition for indecorum.*

PAOLO VERONESE was the last of the great masters who adorned the sixteenth century at Venice, and whose works remain as the models which succeeding painters have vainly endeavoured to rival.

In him even is discernible a falling-off from his immediate predecessors; he has not the expression nor the simplicity of Gian Bellino, the sober grandeur of Titian's colouring, nor the creative genius of Tintoretto. Compared with these, he is but a painter of pageants and processions, whose works are destined rather to

¹ Born 1530, died 1588.

dazzle the eye than to touch the heart.

But his powers, nevertheless, are great, and within certain limits quite unsurpassed.

It is in the small but beautifully proportioned anti-collegio mentioned in the last notice on Tintoretto that Paolo Veronese painted his "Rape of Europa." It is needless in this place to discuss the propriety, or even the meaning, of the two painters' choice of subjects;¹ but it must be observed that in this picture Paolo has reached his highest excellence, whether the ingenuity of telling his story be considered, his power of expression, his taste in costume, the exuberance of his fancy in the accessories, or the gorgeous colours of his palette.

¹ Therape of Europa; Bacchus and Ariadne; Minerva rejecting Mars; The forge of Vulcan; and Mercury and the Graces.

All have admired this picture, many, probably, before the French carried it away to Paris, have felt an ardent longing to possess it, but no one, like the Duke of Buckingham in the seventeenth century, had the hardihood to make a direct application to the Venetian Senate that it should be given to him. In the year 1624 Lord Desmond left a note with Valaresso, the Venetian Ambassador in London, running thus: "The Duke of Buckingham desireth by any means possible to have certaine pictures made by Paull Veronese that are in a certaine rume or passage towards the great library in the palace of S. Marks at Venice."

The Senate was anxious to oblige the all-powerful favourite of the king of England, a positive refusal was not at once given, but such evasive answers as delayed, at least, a compliance with his wishes.

We have recently been fortunate enough to acquire for our National Gallery one of his finest and most interesting pictures; yet the subject of the family of Darius at the feet of Alexander is one that demands more tenderness, more expression, more delicacy of handling than he possessed. How would Raphael have treated this beautiful subject! how ingeniously he would have told the story! We can figure to ourselves the lofty humility of the mother of the fallen monarch, the grief and anguish of his children, the tenderness, the manly sympathy, of the youthful conqueror, and the dejection of the Persian dependents, displayed in every attitude of Oriental submission.

Paolo has presented a scene of gay and gorgeous display; numerous attendants are grouped together amidst arcades and hanging gardens, busied with their horses, their dogs, their

parrots, and their monkeys, giving to the interview an air of festive gaiety, while the fair and well-fed suppliants of the harem, dressed in robes of ceremony and jewels in the richest setting, kneel with as little emotion as at an ordinary court ceremonial, and the youthful Alexander,¹ rich in costume and comely in features, receives their homage with as little unconcern as they evince in offering it.

This picture was destined to adorn a Venetian ball-room; but in subjects more serious Paolo was unable to restrain the exuberance of his fancy. The spirit of the age, however, was opposed to such incongruous representations, and we shall see that the painter narrowly escaped ecclesiastical censure for indulging in them.

The examination of Paolo before

¹ Said to be a portrait of the young Pisani.

the Inquisitors of Venice for the levity he permitted himself in treating sacred subjects, proves the change that the Reformation had already worked in men's minds. Painters in the beginning of the century had introduced trivial and even ludicrous incidents into their most sacred representations. The good taste of Raphael had avoided this incongruity; Giulio Romano had introduced halbardiers and dwarfs in his paintings in the Vatican itself; and Michel-Angelo in his "Last Judgment" had not only represented the most sacred persons totally unclóthed, but had even indicated, by touches of satire, equally ludicrous and indecorous, the nature of the crimes for which he chose to doom his personal enemies to punishment. It is true that this licence, though unnoticed in the pagan days of Julius and Leo, was afterwards condemned, and the pencil

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of Daniel da Volterra was employed to clothe the naked, and to efface the glaring improprieties which had shocked the eyes of the austere Adrian of Utrecht and Paul IV.¹

In the "Banquet of Levi," Paolo had permitted himself some license; but the more offensive ebullitions of his fancy which were condemned by the inquisitors had been already effaced before he was summoned to appear in person at the awful tribunal. Indeed, I can hardly understand the prudery of these zealous critics. The picture represents one of the historical events recorded in Scripture. Levi was a publican, and there is no reason to suppose that any particular atmosphere of sanctity pervaded his dwelling; and though nothing can

¹ The beautiful print of Martin Rota preserves the picture as originally painted by Michel-Angelo.

be less like a scene in Jerusalem in those remote days than the magnificent atrium of a Palladian palace, in which the banquet is spread, there is nothing that shocks the moral taste or the feelings; and the dwarfs, dogs, and parrots may be in better keeping with the habits of the host than the Venetian costumes in which his guests are clothed, are to historical accuracy.

This curious document, containing the examination of Paolo Veronese before the inquisitors, is preserved in the archives at Venice. It has been published in a translation in the "*Revue des deux Mondes*," and subsequently, I believe, in other periodical works, but the original has never been printed, and I now give it in all the quaint simplicity of the Venetian dialect, carefully transcribed from the document itself.

It is well known to the students.

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of Venetian history that the Roman Inquisition was allowed little influence and still less power in the States of the Signory, and its proceedings were closely watched, even in matters admitted to be within its jurisdiction. Its sittings were always attended by lay members selected from the Senate, to regulate and report its proceedings.

The sittings of the Holy Office were held in the chapel of S. Theodore, fronting the door leading from S. Mark's Church to the *Fondamenta di Canonica*.

“ Die Sabbati 18 mensis Julii 1573
“ constitutus in sancto officio coram
“ sacro Tribunali Dominus Paulus
“ Calarius Veronensis pictor habi-
“ tator in parochia Sancti Samuelis
“ et interrogatus de nomine et cog-
“ nomine ?

“ *Respondit. ut supra.*

“ Interrogatus de professione sua ?

Respondit. Io depingo et fazzo
“ delle figure.

Ei dictum. Sapete la causa perchè
“ fete costituito?

Respondit. Sig^r no.

Ei dictum. Potete immaginarla?

Respondit. Imaginar mi posso
“ ben.

Ei dictum. Dite quel che vi ima-
“ ginate.

Respondit. Per quello, che mi fu
“ detto dalli Rev^{di} Padri, cioè il
“ Priore de S. Zuane polo, del
“ qual non fo il nome, il qual mi
“ disse, che l' era stato qui et che
“ Vostre Signorie Illustrissime gli
“ haveva dato commission che'l
“ dovesse far far la Maddalena in
“ luogo de un can, et mi ghe
“ risposi, che volentiera haveria
“ fatto quello et altro per honor
“ mio et del quadro, ma che non
“ sentiva che tal figura della Mad-
“ dalena podesse zazer che la stesse

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- “ bene, per molte ragioni, le quali
“ dirò sempre che mi sia dato
“ occasion che le possa dir.
“ *Ei dictum.* Che quadro è questo
“ che avete nominato?
“ *Respondit.* Questo è un quadro
“ della cena ultima che fece Giesù
“ Christo con li suoi Apostoli in
“ ca de Simeon.¹
“ *Ei dictum.* Dove è questo quadro?
“ *Respondit.* In refettorio delli Frati
“ di S. Zuanne polo.
“ *Ei dictum.* Ello in muro, in taola,
“ o in tela?
“ *Respondit.* In tela.
“ *Ei dictum.* Quanti piedi ello alto?
“ *Respondit.* El puol esser 17 piedi.
“ *Ei dictum.* Quanto ello largo?
“ *Respondit.* Da 39 in circa.

¹ “ And Levi made him a great feast in his own house; and there was a great company of publicans and of others that sat down with him.”—*Luke* iii. 29.

“ *Ei dictum.* A questa Cena del Signor
“ gli avete depento ministri ?

“ *Respondit.* Monsignor sì.

“ *Ei dictum.* Dite quanti ministri, et
“ li effetti che fa ciascun di loro ?

“ *Respondit.* El patron dell’ albergo
“ Simon oltra questo ho fatto sotto
“ questa figura un scalco, il qual
“ ho finto chel sia venuto per suo
“ diporto a veder come vanno le
“ cose della tola. *Deinde subiun-*
“ *xit* ghe sono molte figure le
“ quali per esser molto, che ho
“ messo fuso il quadro non me
“ lo ricordo.

“ *Ei dictum.* Havete dipinte altre
“ cene che quella ?

“ *Respondit.* Signor sì.

“ *Ei dictum.* Quante ne havete di-
“ pinte et in che luogo ?

“ *Respondit.* Ne fece una in Verona
“ alli Reverendi Monaci de S.
“ Lazar, la qual è nel suo reffet-
“ torio. *Dixit* ne ho fatto una

“ nel Refettorio dilli R. Padri di
 “ S. Zorzi qui in Venetia.
 “ *Li fu detto.* Questa non è cena,¹ ve
 “ si domanda della cena del Signor.
 “ *Respondit.* Ne ho fatto una nel
 “ Refettorio di Servi di Venetia,
 “ et una nel Refettorio di S. Se-
 “ bastian qui in Venetia. Et ne
 “ ho fatto una in Padoa ai Padri
 “ della Maddalena, et non mi
 “ ricordo di haverne fatte de altre.²

¹ On the picture about which he was examined in the refectory of the Convent of S. Giovanni e Paolo, representing the supper in the house of Levi, there is a cotemporary inscription in large letters—

“ Fecit D. Govi Magnu Levi Lucæ cap. V.
 “ A.D. MDLXXIII Die XX Apr. +.”

² “ Dipinse Paolo cinque gran tele rappre-
 “ sentanti convitti, cioè : 1. Le nozze di Cana,
 “ ch’ erano in S. Giorgio Maggiore, ed ora a
 “ Parigi.—2. Il convito in casa di Simone
 “ Fariseo ch’ era in questo convento di S.
 “ Sebastiano ed ora è nella Raccolta di Brera

- “ *Ei dictum.* In questa cena, che
“ havete fatto a S. Giovanni Paulo,
“ che significa la pittura di colui
“ che li esce il sangue del naso?
“ *Respondit.* L' ho fatto per un servo
“ che per qualche accidente li possa
“ esser venuto il sangue del naso.
“ *Ei dictum.* Che significa quelli
“ armati alla Thodesca vestiti

“ in Milano.*—3. Il convito medesimo, ma
“ con differente invenzione, che era a' Serviti,
“ e fu donato a Luigi XIV.—4. Il convito di
“ Levi, ch' era nel convento de' SS. Gio-
“ vanni e Paolo, ed ora all' Accademia.—5.
“ Il convito di S. Gregorio Magno ch' è alla
“ Madonna del Monte a Vicenza.”

* “ Questo quadro tornato da Parigi ove era traspor-
“ tato fin dal 1797 cogli altri nostri ora si vede nella
“ Pinacoteca di Brera in Milano in luogo dell' altro
“ dello stesso Paolo rappresentante il convito dato ai
“ poveri da S. Gregorio Magno, che dal Refettorio de'
“ Padri della Madonna del Monte di Vicenza era stato
“ portato a Milano, e che fu restituito alla Madonna
“ del Monte col patto che l' Accademia di Venezia
“ compensasse la Pinacoteca di Milano con altro quadro
“ che fu appunto il convito Fariseo ch' era in S. Sebas-
“ tiano.”

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“ con una lambarde per una in
“ mano ?

“ *Respondit.* E 'l fa bisogno, che dica
“ quì vinti parole.

“ *Ei dictum.* Che 'l dica.

“ *Respondit.* Nui pittori si pigliamo
“ licentia, che si pigliano i poeti
“ et i matti, et ho fatta quelli dui
“ alabardieri uno che beve, et
“ l'altro che magna, appresso una
“ scala morta i quali sono messi
“ là, che possino far qualche officio,
“ parendomi conveniente, ch' 'l pa-
“ tron della casa ch' era grande e
“ richo secondo che mi è stato
“ detto dovesse haver tal servitori.

“ *Ei dictum.* Quel vestito da buffon
“ con il papagalo in pugno, a che
“ effetto l' havete depento in quel
“ telaro ?

“ *Respondit.* Per ornamento, come
“ si fa.

“ *Ei dictum.* Alla tavola del Signor
“ chi vi sono ?

- Respondit.* Li dodici Apostoli.
“ *Ei dictum.* Che effetto fa S. Pietro,
“ che è il primo?
“ *Respondit.* E ’l squarta l’ agnelo per
“ darlo all’ altro capo della tola.
“ *Ei dictum.* Che effetto fa l’ altro che
“ li è appresso?
“ *Respondit.* L’ ha un piato per ricever
“ quel che li darà S. Pietro.
“ *Ei dictum.* Dite l’ effetto che fa
“ l’ altro ch’ è appresso questo?
“ *Respondit.* L’ è uno che ha un piron
“ che si cura i denti.
“ *Ei dictum.* Chi credete voi vera-
“ mente che si trovasse in quella
“ cena?
“ *Respondit.* Credo che si trovassero
“ Christo con li fuoi Apostoli, ma
“ se nel quadro li avanza spacio
“ io l’ adorno di figure secondo le
“ inventioni.
“ *Ei dictum.* Se da alcuna persona
“ vi è stato commesso che voi
“ dipengeste in quel quadro

“ Thodeschi et buffoni et simil
“ cose?

“ *Respondit.* Sig^r no; ma la com-
“ mission fu di ornar il quadro
“ secondo mi pareffe, il quale è
“ grande et capace di molte figure
“ fi come a me pareva.

“ *Ei dictum.* Se li ornamenti che lui
“ pittore è solito di fare d'intorno
“ le pitture o quadri solito di fare
“ convenienti et proportionati alla
“ materia et figure principali, o
“ veramente a beneplacito secondo
“ che li viene in fantasia senza
“ alcuna discriptione et giuditio?

“ *Respondit.* Io faccio le pitture con
“ quella consideration ch' è con-
“ veniente, che 'l mio intelletto
“ può capire.

“ *Interrogatus.* Se li par conveniente
“ che alla cena ultima del Signore
“ si convenga depingere buffoni;
“ imbriachi, Thodeschi, nani et
“ simili scurrilità?

“ *Respondit.* Signòr no.

“ *Interrogatus.* Perchè dunque l' ha-
“ vete dipinto ?

“ *Respondit.* L' ho fatto perchè pre-
“ suppono che questi sieno fuori
“ del luoco dove si fa la cena.

“ *Interrogatus.* Non sapete voi che
“ in Alemagna et altri lochi in-
“ fetti di heresia fogliano con le
“ pitture diverse et piene di scur-
“ rilità et simili inventioni dili-
“ gere, vituperare, et far scherno
“ delle cose della santa Chiesa
“ Catholica per insegnar mala
“ dottrina alle genti idiote et igno-
“ ranti ?

“ *Respondit.* Sig^r sì, che l' è male ;
“ ma perchè tornerò anchora quel
“ che ho ditto, che ho obbligo di
“ seguir quel che hanno fatto li
“ miei maggiori.

“ *Ei dictum.* Che anno fatto i vostri
“ maggiori ? hanno fatto forse cosa
“ simile ?

Respondit. Michel-Agnolo in Roma:

“ drento la capella Pontifical vi è
 “ depento il nostro Signor Jefù
 “ Chrifto, la fua madre et S.
 “ Zuanne S. Piero et la Corte
 “ Celefte, le quale tutte fono fatte
 “ nude dalla Vergine Maria in
 “ poi, con atti diverfi con poca
 “ reverentia.

Ei dictum. Non fapete voi che de-

“ pengendo il giuditio univerfale
 “ nel quale non fi presume veftiti,
 “ o fimil cofe, non occorreva di-
 “ pinger veftite et in quelle figure
 “ non vi è cofa fe non di fpirito,
 “ non vi fono baffoni, nè cani, nè
 “ arme, nè fimili buffonarie? Et
 “ fe li pare per quefto o per qual-
 “ unque altro efempio di haver
 “ fatto bene di haver dipinto
 “ quefto quadro in quel modo che
 “ fta et fe 'l vol defendere che 'l
 “ quadro fta bene et condecen-
 “ mente?

and their Pictures. 97

Respondit. Sig^r Illustrissimo no che
“ non lo voglio defender, ma pen-
“ fava di far bene, et che non ho
“ confiderato tante cose. Pen-
“ fando di non far defordine nis-
“ suno tanto più che quelle figure
“ de buffoni sono di fuori del
“ luogo dove è il nostro Signore.

“ Quibus habitis, Domini decre-
“ verunt supradictum Dominum
“ Paulum teneri et obligatum
“ esse ad corrigendum et emendan-
“ dum picturam de qua in con-
“ stituto arbitrio Sacri Tribunalis
“ infra terminum trium mensium
“ connumerandorum a die pre-
“ fixationis correctionis faciende
“ juxta arbitrium predictum Sacri
“ Tribunalis connumerandorum
“ suis expensis cum commina-
“ tione sub penis sacri Tribunalis
“ imponendis. Et ita decreverunt
“ omni meliori modo.”

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Ex tergo. Contra Magistrum Paulum Veronensem Pictorem, 1573. Esistente nella Busta Processi, N. 33, dall' anno 1572, all' anno 1573, appartenente all' archivio del Santo Ufficio presso l' archivio generale di Venezia.

Translation.

Examination of Paolo Veronese before the Inquisition at Venice, on the 18th of July, 1573.

Asked his name and profession.

A. I invent and draw figures.

Q. Do you know the reason why you have been summoned?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Can you imagine it?

A. I can imagine it.

Q. Tell us what you imagine.

A. For the reason which the Reverend Prior of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, whose name I know not,

told me, that he had been here, and that your illustrious lordships had given him orders that I should substitute the figure of the Magdalen for that of a dog, and I replied that I would willingly have done this or any thing else for my own credit and the advantage of the picture, but that I did not think the figure of the Magdalen would be fitting, or would look well for many reasons, which I will always assign whenever the opportunity is given me.

Q. What picture is that which you have named?

A. It is the picture representing the last supper that Jesus Christ took with his disciples in the house of Simon.¹

¹ It is singular that Paolo should have made this mistake. The picture represents the banquet at the house of Levi, and not the

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Q. Where is this picture?

A. In the Refectory of the Friars of SS. Giovanni and Paolo.

Q. Is it painted on the wall, on panel or on cloth?

A. On cloth.

Q. How many feet is it in height?

A. It is about seventeen feet.

Q. How wide?

A. About thirty-nine feet.

Q. In this Supper of our Lord have you painted any attendants?

A. Yes, my lord.

Q. Say how many attendants and what each is doing.

A. First, the master of the house, Simon, besides, I have placed below him a sewer, who I have supposed to have come for his own amusement to see the arrangement of the table.

Last Supper. The inscription, with a reference to the Gospel of St. Luke recording the event, is painted on the picture itself.

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There are besides several others, which, as there are many figures in the picture, I do not recollect.

Q. Have you painted other banquets beside this?

A. Yes, my lord.

Q. How many have you painted, and in what places?

A. I painted one in Verona for the Reverend Monks of S. Lazarus, which is in the Refectory. I have done one in the Refectory of the reverend Fathers of S. George, here in Venice.

It was observed to him that this was not a supper: Q. We ask you of the Suppers of our Lord?

A. I have done one in the Refectory of the Servites at Venice, and one in the Refectory of S. Sebastian, here in Venice; and I have done one in Padua for the Fathers of the Magdalen, and I do not remember that I have done any others.

Q. In this supper which you have done in SS. Giovanni and Paolo, what does that figure mean, the man going away with a bleeding nose?¹

A. I intended it for a servant who from some accident is bleeding at the nose.

Q. What is the meaning of those men dressed in the German fashion, each with a halbert in his hand?

A. It is now necessary that I should say a few words.

The Court : Say on.

A. We painters take the same licence that is permitted to poets and jesters; I have placed those two halbardiers, the one eating, the other drinking by the staircase, to be supposed ready to perform any duty that may be required of them; it

¹ The action of this figure has been changed. I suppose it must have been the man half seen descending the stairs on the left, who holds a white cloth or handkerchief in his hand.

appearing to me quite fitting that the master of such a house, who was rich and great, as I have been told, should have such attendants.

Q. That fellow dressed like a buffoon, with the parrot on his wrist, for what purpose is he introduced into the canvas?

A. For ornament, as is usually done.

Q. At the table of the Lord whom have you placed?

A. The twelve Apostles.

Q. What is Saint Peter doing, who is the first?

A. He is cutting up a lamb to send to the other end of the table.

Q. What is he doing who is the next to him?

A. He is holding a plate to receive what S. Peter will give him.

Q. Tell us what is he doing who is next to this last?

A. He is using a fork as a tooth-pick.

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Q. Who do you really think were present at that supper?

A. I believe Christ and his Apostles were present; but in the foreground of the picture I have placed figures for ornament of my own invention.

Q. Were you commissioned by any person to paint Germans, and buffoons, and such-like things in this picture?

A. No, my Lord; my commission was to ornament the picture as I judged best, which, being large, requires many figures, as it appears to me.

Q. Are the ornaments that the painter is in the habit of introducing in his frescoes and pictures suited and fitting to the subject and to the principal persons represented, or does he really paint such as strike his own fancy without exercising his judgment or his discretion?

A. I design my pictures with all

due consideration as to what is fitting, and to the best of my judgment.

Asked. Does it appear to you fitting that at our Lord's last supper,¹ you should paint buffoons, drunkards, Germans, dwarfs, and similar indecencies?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Why, then, have you painted them?

A. I have done it because I supposed that these were not in the place where the supper was served.

Q. Are you not aware that in Germany and in other places infected with heresy, they are in the habit of painting pictures full of scurrility for the purpose of ridiculing and degrading the Holy Church, and thus teaching false doctrines to the ignorant and foolish?

¹ It is strange that the inquisitor should have fallen into the same mistake, and have confounded the banquet of Levi with the Last Supper!

A. Yes, my lord, it is bad ; but I return to what I said before ; I thought myself obliged to do as others—my predecessors—had done before me.

Q. And have your predecessors, then, done such things ?

A. Michel-Angelo, in the Papal Chapel in Rome, has painted our Lord Jesus Christ, his mother, S. John, and S. Peter, and all the Court of Heaven, from the Virgin Mary downwards, all naked, and in various attitudes, with little reverence.

Q. Do you not know that in a painting like the Last Judgment, where drapery is not supposed, dresses are not required, and that disembodied spirits only are represented ? but there are neither buffoons, nor dogs, nor armour, nor any other absurdity. And does it not appear to you that neither by this nor any other example you have done right in painting the

picture in this manner, and that it can be proved right and decent?

A. Illustrious Lord, I do not defend it, but I thought I was doing right. I had not considered all these things, never intending to commit any impropriety, the more so as these figures of buffoons are not supposed to be in the same place where our Lord is.

The injunctions of the Holy Office were only partially obeyed; the "bleeding nose" was retrenched, but the dog remains with the dwarf, the parrot and "the Germans," nor can I discover that Paolo materially altered his style of composition in consequence of these remonstrances, nor that he was more inclined for the future to check the exuberance of his fancy even when treating the most sacred subjects.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.



DURING my last stay in Venice a curious receipt of Tintoretto was offered to me for sale.

It was an acknowledgment of the payment for two pictures painted by him for the Da Mula family. The stipulations are minute and precise, both as to the subject, the method of treatment, and the number of figures to be introduced into each picture.

Of the pictures themselves I have been unable to discover any trace, nor of the seven portraits painted by the same artist of members of the

Da Mula family, mentioned in this receipt.

All the possessions of the Da Mula family have been alienated, and even their hereditary mansion has been sold to the stranger.

“ Siando convenuto in marchado
 “ m. Jacomo tintareto depentor con
 “ el cl^{mo} m Je^{mo} da mula dig^{mo} pro-
 “ curator per el presente scritto si di-
 “ chiara, che dito m Jacomo sia obli-
 “ gato e cusi promete defar duiquadri
 “ nela camera granda, luno con la
 “ istoria del lazaro resufitado et laltro
 “ con la istoria de moise, neli qual
 “ tutti do istorie li sia figure uinti per
 “ cadauno de esi, et retratti che uano
 “ sopra le porte dele camere n° sete, le
 “ qual opere sia fate a uso de el mae-
 “ stro cō colori finii et azuri oltra
 “ marinj¹ da esser indicatti de ogni

¹ *Ultramarine* was at that time very dear,

“ ecclenzia per fatura deli qual nuove
“ quadri finiti che faranno et nel
“ modo sopra ditto, sua Sig^{ria} cl^{ma} li
“ contera duc sitanta per sua fattura,
“ dichiarando, ch el dito m. Giacomo
“ sia obligato dar ditti quadri finiti
“ p. tempo di dui mesi, tanto che per
“ li XV de april siano finiti del tutto
“ et cusi esò m Giacomo promete et
“ sottoscriuera el ms scritto, e non li
“ dagando in ditto tempo, che sua
“ Sig^{ria} cl^{ma} non sia obligatto a cosa
“ nissuna. In V ali 6 de feuer 1572.

“ Si dechiara ch el ditto m. Giacomo
“ fara far lui alle s spese li telaj deli
“ sopra ditti quadri, dichiarando che
“ nele sopraditte due istorie la una
“ della resurecion d lazaro et laltra
“ dela leze che ebe moise al monte li
“ abia fra tutti do figure 40 acomo-

and artists were in the habit of using an imitation of the colour, which soon turned black and spoilt the picture. Hence the stipulation in the receipt.

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“date nel modo che eſo al cl maestro
“li parera.

“Io iacomo tentoreto afermo et
“prometo quanto ut ſupra avi dito.

“R io iacomo ſopra dito a bon
“conto d 20 ual ducati vinti.

“io iacomo tintorito pr queſto
“faldo del ſopra dito ſcrito.

“dili ſopraditi quadri ducati 25
“Vⁱ dⁱ vinti cinque adi 11 zugnio.”



**LETTERS OF THE BONAPARTE
FAMILY.**

**FROM THE ORIGINALS IN THE AUTOGRAPH
COLLECTION OF
BARON HEATH.**



1. Letter addressed to the Chef de B^de Savary, dated 26th Messidor, an 8 de la République (15th July, 1800), signed Bonaparte.

2. *Autograph* letter to his wife Joséphine, dated Aras (*sic*) 11^{me} fructidor (29th August, 1804).

3. Dispatch directed to the Marshal commanding the French army at Jéna, dictated to Savary by the Emperor Napoleon I., and signed by him, 13th October, 1806.

4. Letter to Joseph Bonaparte, Comte de Survilliers, to Messrs. Leroy, Bayard, and Co., New York, 23rd August, 1823.

5. Letter of the same to his brother Louis Bonaparte, Comte de St. Leu. London, 4th December, 1836.

6. Letter of the same to the same. London, 15th May, 1838.

7. Jerome, King of Westphalia. Letter to his brother Lucien, Prince of Canino. Cassel, 22nd January, 1809.

8. Letter, *Autograph*, of Madame Letizia Bonaparte, Paris, 27 Nivose, styled Madame Mère, mother of Napoleon I.

9. Letter of Elisa Bacciocchi, Princess of Piombino, eldest sister of Napoleon I., to her mother, Madame Letizia. Marlia, 28th March, 1811.

10. Letter of Marie Pauline, Princess Borghese, second sister of Napoleon I., to Monsignor Cuneo, at Rome.

11. Letter of Napoleon III. (Prince Napoleon Louis Bonaparte) to his father Louis, Count of St. Leu. Arenenberg, 5th June, 1834.

12 and 13. Letters of the same to Mons^r Lombard at Paris. London, 5th October, 1839.

14. Letter of the same to Mons^r Thayer. Ham, 9th January, 1841.

15. Letter of Mons^r Jal, historiographe de la Marine, to Mons^r Buchon, 24, Rue de la Victoire. Paris, 29th April, 1837.

16. Note of the Empress Maria Louisa to the Baron de Wessenberg. 18th April, 1815.

17. Letter of Hortense, Queen of Holland, to M^{me} la Maréchale Ney, Princesse de la Moskowa. 31st October, 1833.

18. Letter of the Prince Eugène Beauharnais to the Emperor Napoleon I. Verona, 22nd November, 1813.

LETTERS OF THE BONAPARTE
FAMILY.

I.

*Paris, le 26¹ Messidor, An 8
de la République.*

Au Chef de B^de. Savary,



VOUS partirez demain, Citoyen, pour Milan. Vous prendrez chez le Directeur du trésor public un million, partie en or, partie en lettres de change. Vous verserez cet argent dans la caisse du Payeur de l'armée à Milan.

Vous me rapporterez l'Etat de situation de l'armée et de l'organisation qu'elle a reçue, ainsi que celui du nombre de pièces attachées. Vous

¹ 15 July, 1800.

verrez à cet effet le Chef de l'Etat major et le commandant de l'Artillerie. Vous visiterez à votre retour les citadelles de Milan, Cortonne, Alexandrie, Turin. Vous prendrez note des approvisionnements qui se trouvent dans les places, de l'organisation de l'Artillerie, de l'Etat major et enfin de tout ce qui peut m'éclairer sur la situation véritable de l'Italie.

Vous aurez soin de voir à Milan et à Pavie s'il y a beaucoup d'Artillerie à évacuer sur les derrières et si les mines sont prêtes pour faire sauter le Chateau de Milan.

BONAPARTE.

II.

*Arras le Mercredi, 11 fructidor,
29 Août, 1804.*

Madame et chère femme,
JE viens d'arriver à Arras. J'y séjournerai demain, je serai Vendredi à Mons, Dimanche à Aix la

Bonaparte Family. 7

Chapelle. Je suis satisfait de ma route autant que je l'ai été de l'armée. Je crois que je passerai par Bruxelles sans m'y arrêter ; de là j'irai à Maestricht. J'ai quelque impatience de vous voir. J'ai appris avec plaisir que vous avez confirmé les eaux ; elles ne peuvent que vous faire du bien. Ma santé est bonne ; Eugène se porte bien et est avec moi.

Mille choses aimables partout.

Signé BONAPARTE.

III.

13 Oct., 1806.

Mons^r. le Maréchal partira sur le champ pour aller à la rencontre des Généraux Nantfoutz et d'Hautpoul et du Gen^{al}. Klein. Il leur donnera l'ordre d'être rendu le plutôt possible à Roda,¹ petite ville à moitié chemin d'Auma² à Jéna.

¹ Eight miles from Jéna.

² In Saxe Weimar.

Il leur fera connaître que si ils entendent le canon du côté de Jéna ils pressent leur marche et qu'ils envoient des officiers pour prévenir de leur arrivée—à mesure qu'il rencontrera une division il m'expédiera un officier avec un rapport détaillé qui fasse connaître le lieu où il a rencontré la division, l'état où elle se trouve et l'heure à laquelle elle sera rendue à Roda.

NAPOLÉON.

L'Empereur fera à midi à Jéna. Il montrera le présent ordre aux Généraux qui leur servira d'autorisation.

IV.

*Lettre de Joseph, Comte de Survilliers,
à Messieurs Leroy, Bayard, & C^{ts}.
New York.*

*New York, 23 Août, 1823.
A Messieurs Leroy, Bayard, et C^{ts}.*

Messieurs,

Je n'ai pas reçu votre lettre du 19,
j'ai celle d'aujourd'hui.

Le gros brillant peut être vendu
trois milles livres ; l'autre ne doit pas
être vendu isolément à moins de mille :
à moins que les acheteurs n'exigent
les deux ensemble pour £3500.
Cependant si l'on peut ne vendre que
le premier pour trois milles livres et
garder et le blanc et le Rose pour
être vendus lorsque l'occasion s'en
présentera, cela serait préférable.
Toutefois vous pouvez accepter l'offre
des £3500 pour les deux brillants,

si vos correspondants ne peuvent mieux faire.

Agréez, Messieurs, &c., &c., &c.

JOSEPH,
Comte de Survilliers.

v.

*Lettre de Joseph Bonaparte, Comte de
Survilliers, à Louis Bonaparte, C^{te}.
de St. Leu.*

Londres, 4 Déc^r. 1836.

Mon cher frère,

Je vais renouveler ton affliction en t'envoyant la copie de la lettre de ton fils, mais je crois de mon devoir de ne rien te laisser ignorer dans cette triste circonstance. Il paraîtrait qu'il s'est engagé à ne plus retourner en Europe—que c'est bien à *Arenenberg* seulement qu'a été conçue cette folle tentative qui pouvait

nous compromettre tous, puisqu'on l'appelait déjà du nom *Bonapartiste*. Nous voulions démentir authentiquement une telle désignation, mais la crainte d'accroître encore ta douleur nous a fait renoncer à toute manifestation publique. Mon établissement aux Etats Unis est trop considérable, non en revenus, mais en objets de luxe et d'agrément, pour convenir à ton fils à moins qu'Hortense l'y joignit, et qu'il lui convint, ce dont ni toi ni moi ne devons, je pense, nous inquiéter aujourd'hui.

Caroline nous censure à gorge déployée. Nous avons reçu des lettres de beaucoup de nos amis qu'elle fait très bien séduire. Moi j'y ai perdu mon latin et même mon Français. On ne peut guères entrer dans des détails qui intéressent peu ses auditeurs à Paris ; je ne suis pas en mesure de répondre par des arguments de la même espèce, et ses auditeurs, qu'elle

constitue mes juges, aiment mieux
l'en croire sur parole. Dis moi ce
que tu en penses et crois moi ton
ami et frère

JOSEPH.

*Suit copie de la lettre de Louis Napoléon
Bonaparte.*

Copie.

Lorient, le 15 O^{bre}. 1836.

Mon cher Oncle,
Vous aurez appris avec surprise
l'évènement de *Straßbourg*. Lors-
qu'on ne réussit pas, on dénature vos
intentions, on vous calomnie, on est
sûr d'être blâmé, même par les siens,
aussi n'essayerai-je pas aujourd'hui de
me disculper à vos yeux. Je pars
demain pour *l'Amérique*. Vous me
feriez plaisir de m'envoyer quelques
lettres de recommandation pour Phi-

Bonaparte Family. 13

ladelphie et New York—envoyez moi à mon adresse poste restante à New York. Ayez la bonté de présenter mes respects à mes oncles et de recevoir l'expression de mon sincère attachement. En quittant l'Europe, *peut-être pour toujours*, j'éprouve le plus grand chagrin en pensant que, même dans ma famille, je ne trouverai personne qui plaigne mon sort. Adieu, mon cher Oncle, ne doutez jamais de mes sentiments à votre égard.

Votre neveu,
NAPOLÉON LOUIS BONAPARTE.

Ayez la bonté de faire savoir à votre Chargé d'Affaires en Amérique, quelles seraient les terres que vous consentiriez à vendre.

VI.

*Lettre de Joseph Bonaparte, C^{te}. de
Survilliers, à son frère Louis, C^{te}.
de St. Leu.*

Londres, 15 Mai, 1838.

Mon cher frère,

IL y a longtemps que je m'attendais à apprendre par une communication directe de ta part, si je devais accorder ou refuser ma croyance aux bruits qui ont couru sur ton mariage. Aujourd'hui *Charlotte* m'en parle par sa lettre du 3. Elle m'annonce en même temps ton départ pour Pise, un peu indisposé. Ton bonheur me paraît avoir été la seule considération qui a dominé l'opinion de ta belle-fille; pourrai-je en avoir d'autre? et qui en est meilleur juge que toi? Cet évènement si bien dans tes goûts et dans tes mœurs et selon les désirs de ton cœur si bon, si tendre et si

aimant, n'arrive-t-il pas trop tard ? Ta santé n'en ferait-elle pas trop promptement altérée ? Voici l'état de la question. Tu en feras plus heureux que dans l'isolement où tu as vécu depuis si longtemps, je n'en doute pas. Si tu sens moins que moi le poids de l'âge, tu n'auras pas tort de saisir le peu de bonheur qui peut te rester, à la fin d'une vie si agitée ; tel que je me trouve, je me contenterais de terminer ma vie dans une quiétude plus isolée. Tu es plus jeune que moi et je me garderai bien de condamner dans toi ce que je ne pense pas que je ferais si j'étais dans ton cas et dans mes circonstances d'âge et même de santé. Si tu te décides au mariage, je ne saurai assez te rappeler qu'à ton âge tu dois y chercher moins les transports d'autrefois, que le bonheur d'une société bonne, douce, remplie de toutes les heureuses qualités qu'on accorde

généralement à la personne qui mérite ta recherche. Personne ne sera plus heureux que moi de votre bonheur, si vous pouvez le prolonger aussi longtemps que le désire le frère et l'ami pour lequel ton affection ne s'est jamais démentie à tous les âges et à toutes les fortunes heureuses et malheureuses de notre longue vie.

Je t'embrasse bien cordialement.

Ton affectionné ami

et tendre frère

JOSEPH.

VII.

Lettre de Jérôme, roi de Westphalie, à son frère Lucien Bonaparte.

Mon cher frère, je reçois votre lettre du 1^{er}. Janvier. Je ne puis vous dire, mon bon Lucien, combien il m'en coûte de penser que vous avez l'idée que votre bon Jérôme n'a pas eu de confiance dans votre signature. Si

vous saviez à quel point je suis obligé de chercher des expédients pour faire face aux dépenses des *Budgets* des différents Chefs de Service. Vous seriez convaincu que pour que je me laisse demander ce que *Lucien* désire, il faut que je sois dans l'impossibilité de l'offrir; ce qui me rendrait si heureux. Vous ne croiriez peut-être pas, mon cher *Lucien*, que je viens d'être obligé d'emprunter 250,000 francs à 24 *pour Cent.* pour solder l'arriéré des comptes de la maison de 1808. Bethman connaît cela mieux que personne. J'espère que dans le mois de Septembre, si j'obtiens de l'Empereur (ce que j'espère) je serai à même de vous envoyer 200,000 f. je les remettrai à Bethman. Campi m'écrit qu'il a pour 240,000 f. de valeur à vous appartenant; par conséquent il trouvera un bénéfice de 4 pour cent à acquitter lui-même les traites tirées par M^r. Boyer sur Beth-

man ; puisque le change est dans cette proportion à l'avantage de Paris, d'ailleurs mon bon *Lucien* vous sentirez qu'il ne peut me convenir de faire vendre les bijoux de la femme de mon frère pour qu'il s'acquitte d'une somme que je lui aurais avancée, et qu'il me ferait si doux de lui offrir. Soyez convaincu mon cher frère que je ne laisserai pas échapper *une seule* circonstance où je pourrai non seulement vous être utile, mais agréable.

Je vous souhaite la bonne année ainsi qu'à toute votre famille ; et je croyais bien d'après ce que j'avais *entendu à Erfurt* que ce ne serait pas ainsi que je la souhaiterais à mon bon frère et ami.

Je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur.

Votre bon et

Aff. frère,

JEROME NAPOLEON.

Cassel, ce 22 Janvier, 1809.

VIII.

*Lettre de Madame Letizia Bonaparte
au Citoyen Lucien Bonaparte, Min-
istre Plénipotentiaire de la Rép Fran-
çaise à Madrid.*

Copiée verbatim et literatim.

Parigi, 27 Nivôse.

Ho riciutto le tue due lettere mio caro Figlio—fento con fomo piacere che tu ftia bene e contento e quefto fa la mia felicità ma la tua Contanza e penibele per me, ma mi confolo pensando al tuo ritorno ed al momento che auro la fodisfazione di ferrate nelle mie bracci con la piccola Criftina. Lolota ftia bene e contenta—io ti manderò il mio ritratto fpero che fara finito in quefte due giornie e te ne faccio fare uno in grande per mettere nella tua cafa a Parigi ma non è anche finito—tutta

la famiglia sta bene—luiggi è stato malato ma ora sta meglio e in pochi giorni farà di ritorno in pariggi—giromo e di già imbarcato ma non a anche scritto tu puoi pensare quanto io sia inquieta vedendovi tutte disperse, non voglio di piu su di cio— a dio caro lucciano ti abbraccio con la piccola Cristina e continua a darne le tue e sue notizie mille cose da mia parte a bacciochi domani li scriverò non ti parlo nulla di Elisa essa ti scrive e la sola che vedo tutti li giorni—a dio un' altra sono la aff^{ma}. madre.

L. BONAPARTE.

IX.

Lettre de la Princesse Elisa Bacciocchi à sa mère, Madame Letizia.

Ma chère Maman,
Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire avec

quels transports de joye j'ai appris les nouvelles de l'heureux accouchement de *l'Impératrice*, vous savez avec quel impatience nous attendions cet évènement, vous pouvez juger assez quel enthousiasme il a produit ici, voyant tous mes vœux comblés par la naissance du *Roi de Rome*, nos bons Toscans se sont livrés à tous les excès de leur joye. A peine j'ai reçu par une dépêche télégraphique l'avis que le *Roi de Rome* était né, j'ai fait tirer dans tout le Grand Duché des salves d'artillerie qui devaient l'annoncer ; j'ai reçu le Dimanche les félicitations de tous les corps civils et militaires, je suis allé le soir au spectacle qui était illuminé et gratis, et où j'ai été reçue par les plus vifs et les plus longs applaudissements. Le lendemain j'ai donné un grand cercle dans les grands salons du *Palais Pitti* et un souper de 90 couverts. Le jour suivant j'ai

donné un bal à la ville de Florence. Je vous écris aujourd'hui de ma campagne près de Lucques, où j'ai été pour voir mes enfants qui y sont depuis un mois ; mon fils souffrait depuis quelques jours des dents, et en était incommodé au point d'avoir un peu de fièvre. Le Prince était venu ici il y a quatre jours pour donner des fêtes, et se mêler à la joye qu'éprouvaient nos bons sujets de Lucques ; il me charge de vous dire mille choses aimables.

Adieu ma chère maman soyez assez bonne pour me rappeler au souvenir de mon oncle *Fesch*, et pour me faire donner des nouvelles du *Roi de Rome* et de *l'Impératrice*.

Napoléon baise vos belles mains.

Je vous embrasse,

Votre aff. fille,

ELISA.

Marlia, le 28 Mars, 1811.

x.

*Lettre de Pauline Princesse Borghèse,
à Monfignor Cuneo, à Rome.*

Mon cher Monfeigneur Cunéo,
Je vous envoie une lettre que vous
pourrez montrer—à présent que vous
connaiffiez mes intentions positives,
je vous prie d'agir avec le plus de
célérité poffible—fans écouter aucun
avis qui pourrait être contraire à ma
volonté.

Si je n'obtiens pas de rentrer dans
tous mes droits d'époufe près du
Prince Borghèse, jamais je ne con-
sentirai à d'autre féparation qu'à
une féparation de Torre, ne trouvant
ni convenable, ni digne de nous
féparer par sentence ou par contract
feulement, après les outrages horri-
bles que j'ai reçus de la part du
Prince.

Je n'aurai jamais le courage de rentrer dans le palais Borghèse sans être réunie entièrement avec le Prince. Si je ne puis pas parvenir à ce but, je jouirai au moins par une séparation complète du repos et de la liberté dont j'ai tant besoin dans l'état de santé où je suis.

Voilà, mon cher Monsieur Cuneo, mes dernières et irrévocables volontés.

Je viens d'avoir une attaque de nerfs très forte après la longue discussion qui a eu lieu chez moi—je suis absolument hors d'état d'en supporter de pareilles. Agissez donc *seul* en suivant mes intentions, et écrivez moi lorsque vous croirez avoir besoin de me consulter. Il est inutile de me communiquer des propositions qui ne répondraient pas à ce que je viens de vous dire, étant décidée irrévocablement à n'accepter que l'un ou l'autre parti que je vous fais connaître ici—vous ne devez

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point suivre les opinions des personnes de ma famille qui ne sont pas d'ailleurs d'accord entre elles, mais les miennes et les miennes seules ; il s'agit ici de mon avenir et de ma tranquillité pour la vie dont elles mêmes ne peuvent pas juger comme moi.

Agréez Monseigneur l'assurance de mon parfait attachement.

PAULINE P^{ME}. BORGHÈSE.

XI.

Lettre du Prince Napoléon Louis Bonaparte à son père, Louis, Comte de St. Leu.

Mon cher papa,
DEPUIS que je ne vous ai écrit, la mort du père de M^{lle}. L— a changé un peu mes projets de mariage, car, puisque jusqu'à présent je ne connais aucune des personnes qu'on me pro-

pose, je ne fais attention qu'aux convenances et nullement aux affections, qui ne peuvent se manifester que lorsqu'on s'est vu de près ; donc les avantages que je trouvais dans l'alliance que je désirais contracter, n'existent plus, et que si je veux persister dans des vues matrimoniales, ce que j'ai de mieux à faire c'est de jeter mes vues sur *M^{lle}. de Padoue*. Vous me ferez grand plaisir de me répondre à ce sujet et de me donner votre avis, quoique je ne sois pas très pressé de me marier. Je vous envoie ici ci joint la copie d'une loi que le gouvernement vient de faire passer et qui est évidemment faite contre *nous*, car elle coupe court à toutes les réclamations que ma famille pourrait faire au sujet des dettes que le gouvernement Français a envers elle. Je crois que dans cette circonstance si l'on tient à pousser son droit, il n'y a qu'à entamer un

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procès au gouvernement, malheureusement on n'a pas pu plus tôt cette loi qu'on a fait passer sans éclat, afin qu'on n'y prit point garde.

J'ai reçu une lettre de Charlotte et je vais lui répondre.

Comme ma santé n'est pas très bonne depuis un mois, j'irai bientôt passer un mois aux eaux de Baden près Zürich.

Adieu mon cher papa,
Recevez l'assurance de mon sincère attachement.

Votre tendre et respectueux fils,
NAPOLÉON LOUIS B.

Arenenberg, ce 5 juin, 1834.

XII.

*Lettre du Prince Napoléon Louis
Bonaparte, à Mon^r. Lombard de
Paris.*

Londres, ce 5 Oct., 1839.

Mon cher Lombard,

Je vous prie d'aller de ma part
chez M^r. Charles Durand rédacteur
du *Capitole* et de lui dire qu'autant
j'aime à lui donner des louanges
quand il se livre à tout son talent,
autant je crois de mon devoir de lui
exprimer ma désapprobation quand
je lis dans un journal auquel je
m'intéresse des articles aussi incon-
venants que celui qui y était inséré
dans le N^o. du 2 Octobre intitulé
La Reine d'Angleterre. Comment
le Capitole, qui se fait l'organe du
Napoléonisme et du système Impérial,
va-t-il prêcher le système du cochon

à l'engrais ? Comment le *Capitole*, qui a même beaucoup trop vivement attaqué l'Angleterre va-t-il un beau jour se prendre de passion pour la constitution aristocratique de l'Angleterre ?

Comment le *Capitole* dont le spirituel rédacteur écrivait un jour " il " y a trop de journaux libéraux et " légitimistes en France, il en faut " un purement national et qui étonne " par sa nouvelle couleur ; " comment, dis-je, ce même rédacteur souffre-t-il un article qui tienne le journal dans cette même ornière des partisans de la Constitution Anglaise, dont le grand principe est cette guerre des synonymes—" *Le Roi règne " et ne gouverne pas ?* " Enfin comment un journal qui se dit *Napoléoniste* va-t-il dire que l'armée sert plus tôt à opprimer le peuple en tems de paix qu'à le défendre en tems de guerre ? Cet article m'a

bien irrité et dites de ma part à M^r. Charles Durand que s'il en laisse passer encore *un* seul de ce genre je cesserai entièrement les subfides que j'avais promis.

Après lui avoir lu cette lettre *vous la brûlerez et vous ne parlerez à qui que soit de la commission que je vous donne.* Je tiens beaucoup à ce qu'on ignore entièrement mes rapports avec C. D.

Adieu croyez à mon entier &c^a.

L.

Envoyez par la diligence la brochure de M^r. L^s. Nortier—après l'avoir lue vous répondrez aux autres questions.

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XIII.

*Lettre du Prince Napoléon Louis
Bonaparte, à Mr. Lombard de
Paris.*

Sans date.

Mr. d'Artin	F ^s . 25000
Le nouveau gérant	33500
Sous le nom du nouveau directeur	41500
De ces derniers 41500 il y a 20000 d'hypothèques.	

Faire renouveler l'hypothèque.
Lettre de change de 25000 f^s. à
C — lorsque tout sera terminé &
15000 fs. pour faire aller le journal
jusqu'à ce qu'on puisse employer les
f^s. 33500 de l'ancien cautionnement.

A la rédaction. Aucune attaque
contre *le Siècle*. Aucune louange
pour le régime constitutionnel. Vanter
la constitution de l'Empire sous le
même point de vue que l'auteur des
idées Napoléoniennes. Vanter l'armée.

Tomber sur l'organisation de la garde Nationale et vanter l'organisation de la *Landwehr Prussienne*. Montrer la constitution Anglaise comme la plus aristocratique de toutes ; la constitution de *l'Empire* comme essentiellement démocratique comme leur esprit.

A Monsieur Lombard.

Paris.

Mon cher Lombard,

Je vous envoie une lettre de change de 8000 fr. Vous irez la porter de ma part à *Monsieur Charles Durand, rédacteur du Capitole*, après l'avoir été chercher chez les banquiers. Vous la remettrez à lui-même et vous lui demanderez un reçu que vous m'enverrez. Vous ne parlerez de ceci à *personne* ni à M^r. G— ni à aucun autre.

Croyez à mon amitié,

N.

XIV.

*Lettre du Prince Napoléon Louis B.
à M^r. Thayer, 5 Rue Ménard,
Paris.*

Ham, Le 9 Jan^r. 1841.

Mon cher Monsieur Thayer,
Je profite des offres de service que vous avez bien voulu me faire, pour vous prier de réclamer auprès du ministre contre certaines mesures qui sont prises ici par son ordre mais qui, j'en suis sûr, n'émanent que des bureaux, car je ne saurais croire qu'un homme comme Mon^{sr}. Duchatel veuille ajouter des vexations inutiles à tous les manque d'égards et de procédés du gouvernement à mon sujet. Jusqu'à présent je n'ai pas voulu réclamer contre tous ces abus d'autorité, parceque sous un rapport j'étais bien aise de voir combien le

gouvernement montrait naïvement et nettement la crainte que je lui inspire, mais tout a un terme, et comme lorsque on ne se plaint pas, on n'a fait qu'encourager les persécutions, je suis bien décidé à employer tous les moyens pour qu'on me rende justice et croyez le, malgré les gardes et les géoliers, ma voix tot ou tard fera entendue et couvrira de honte ceux qui oublient les égards qu'on doit toujours au malheur.

Je demanderai d'abord s'il est légal, s'il est juste, s'il est humain de me tenir depuis trois mois *au secret* et de ne permettre à personne de venir me voir. Et non seulement je ne puis voir personne mais ma correspondance est soumise à tous les affronts et à toutes les entraves. Si un de mes amis m'écrit en Anglais ou en Allemand ma lettre est envoyée à Paris, ou elle se perd dans les bureaux qui la gardent ou la renvoyent

huit jours après, un mot de pitié ou de consolation suffit pour que la lettre soit interceptée. J'ai pour me promener un bastion, aux deux bouts sont placés deux factionnaires. Le rempart est élevé de 60 pieds au dessus de la campagne et cependant il faut que je sois suivi pas à pas par deux géoliers ou agents de police, de sorte qu'il m'est plus désagréable de sortir que de rentrer dans ma chambre.

Enfin je termine (tout en passant sur bien d'autres petites choses) par l'exposé d'une mesure qui est le comble de l'absurdité. Le Gén^l. Montholon, grâce à son état maladif, a obtenu d'avoir les soins de sa femme. Hier on fait dire au commandant que le Gen^l. Montholon ne pourra communiquer avec moi pendant le tems des visites de sa femme, ainsi donc quand la comtesse viendra, on mettra un gardien entre nos deux chambres, et dans quel but je vous le demande?

Est ce à cause des communications? mais voyant le Génl. 10 minutes avant la visite de sa femme et 10 minutes après je pourrais lui faire dire ce que je voudrai, cela est donc complètement absurde! Je vous prie donc de demander 1^{mo}. qu'on lève cette dernière stupide restriction et qu'on puisse communiquer librement avec moi. 2^{do}. qu'on respecte ma correspondance, 3^o. et qu'on me donne la citadelle pour prison. D'ailleurs le ministre devra pour tous ces détails s'en rapporter entièrement au commandant du Fort et au commissaire spécial de police qui sont sur les lieux et qui jugent mieux ce qui est utile et ce qui ne l'est pas.

Le commandeur fait très bien que je n'ai nulle envie de m'évader et quoiqu'il exécute toujours ponctuellement les ordres qu'il reçoit, quelque stupides qu'ils soient, il a

Bonaparte Family. 37

un cœur et un jugement qui doivent désapprouver souvent ce qu'on lui enjoint de faire. Je vous demande pardon d'entrer avec vous dans tous ces détails, mais je compte sur votre amitié pour faire l'usage convenable de ma lettre. Quant à la crainte d'une évasion, elle est si peu fondée que vous pouvez de ma part dire au Ministre que s'il m'offrait une amnistie je la refuserais !

Recevez, mon cher Monsieur Thayer, l'assurance de mes sentiments d'estime et d'amitié.

NAPOLÉON LOUIS B.

*Monsieur Edouard Thayer,
5 Rue Ménard, Paris.*

Posted 9th January 1841.

P.S.—Je vous prie aussi de réclamer pour mes amis de Douvens pour lesquels on a poussé la *barbarie* jusqu'à leur refuser d'avoir du feu

dans leur chambre. Ils sont dix et il n'y a que trois qui aient du feu !!!

xv.

Lettre de Mon^{fr}. Jal Historiographe de la Marine, datée 29 Avril, 1837. Adressée à Mon^{fr}. Buchon, 24 Rue de la Victoire, Paris.

Mon cher Buchon,
Le ministre m'a dit qu'aucune nouvelle de la *Melpomène* ne lui est arrivée, ni directement ni indirectement depuis le passage de ce navire à Rio Janeiro. Les nouvelles données par les journaux sont controuvées. Le rapport de Mon^{fr}. le capitaine de vaisseau De Villeneuve, commandant la frégate, Rapport daté de Rio, annonce que le jeune *Louis Napoléon* était très bien portant, qu'il avait compris tout de suite sa position à bord, qu'il s'est beaucoup occupé

d'Artillerie de Marine, de manœuvres &c^a. qu'il a été dans les meilleurs termes avec l'état major et que l'équipage qui l'avait d'abord regardé avec curiosité le premier jour, n'a plus fait attention à lui le second jour, ainsi qu'il arrive toujours à bord d'un navire.

Adieu, mon cher ami, le ministre est très fâché de n'avoir aucun détail nouveau à donner à la Reine Hortense, dont il plaint beaucoup le malheur.

Tout à vous.

A. JAL.

29 Avril, 1837.

XVI.

*Lettre de l'Impératrice Marie Louise
à Monsieur le Baron de Wessemsberg.*

(Observer la date.)

JE vous prierai Monsieur le Baron de me dire le jour et l'endroit où cette affaire a eu lieu et s'il est vrai que le comte Neipperg a eu la jambe cassée, j'espère que cela n'est pas vrai cela me facherait.

Je vous demande pardon de vous déranger dans vos conférences.

LOUISE M.

Ce 18 Avril, 1815.

XVII.

*Lettre de la reine Hortense à la Maréchale Ney, princesse de la Moskowa,
rue de Larochehoucauld, Paris.*

JE pense que tu es de retour à Paris ma chère Eglé et en meilleur santé;

je suis bien fâchée que tu n'ayes pas pensé à passer l'hiver dans les pays chauds, quand la santé s'affaiblit c'est le remède le seul efficace ; moi qui engraisse beaucoup je supporte mieux le froid que jadis, mais il faut que je me résigne à ne pas sortir et c'est de faire si peu d'exercice qui m'engraisse. M^{me}. de Pontalba te donnera en détail de mes nouvelles—elle a du trouver la turgovie bien brillante ; dans ce moment j'avais le Prince de Montfort et toute sa famille chez moi, ensuite est arrivée la grand-duchesse avec sa fille, cela n'a pas été long, mais c'était notre carnaval et cela rappelait le voyage du prince Oscar où tu dois te rappeler que dans mon si petit château on est alors forcé de se mettre deux ou trois dans une chambre—à présent le calme habituel est revenu et je m'en arrange fort bien—je ne regrette que ce beau soleil de l'Italie qui me permettait

de me promener tout l'hiver, mais ma tranquillité est pourtant un grand bien et je ne pourrais l'être nulle part aussi bien qu'ici.

Je pense que tu auras lu les bêtes de mémoires qui ont été composés sur moi, cela m'a décidé à faire paraître mon triste voyage en France que j'ai écrit cet hiver—je ne pensais pas à le rendre public, car j'ai mis tous les plus petits détails qui n'ont peut-être d'intérêt que pour moi et mes amis ; mais tous ces contes répandus sur moi m'ont fait consentir enfin à complaire en cela à tous ceux qui me montrent de l'intérêt, j'ai dit toute la vérité ; on en tirera les conséquences qu'on voudra, je ne m'en inquiète guère, car autant je tiens à l'opinion de quelques gens distingués, autant celle de ce qu'on appelle le monde, m'est devenue indifférente —j'ai donné l'ordre de t'envoyer un des premiers exemplaires qui paraîtra.

Je viens de m'occuper à retoucher moi-même les épreuves, c'est fort ennuyeux; mais puisque me voilà auteur je dois en avoir tous les embarras—je t'assure qu'il m'a fallu un grand courage pour retracer tant de douloureuses impressions. Une perte comme celle que j'ai faite laisse des traces ineffaçables—dans des instants on s'engourdit, on s'abuse, et dans d'autres une douleur aiguë vous ferre le cœur comme au premier jour. J'attendais Nieves ce mois ci, mais je pense qu'elle a changé d'idée—d'ailleurs la saison devient mauvaise pour voyager et même pour habiter mon petit château qui est bien exposé au vent—je préfère beaucoup qu'on me visite quand la campagne est belle. Adieu ma chère Eglé, mille tendresses pour toi et tes enfants.

H.

Ce 31 Octobre, 1833.

J'ai eu la visite de la pauvre Duchesse de Raguse—quel changement !

XVIII.

*Lettre du Prince Eugène Beauharnais
à S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon.*

Vérone, Ce 22 O^{bre}, 1813.

Sire,

J'AI l'honneur d'adresser à votre Majesté une copie de lettre parvenue de Munich par la Suisse et dirigée à Naples.

L'arrivée à Bologne de trente mille Napolitains est officiellement annoncée par le Chargé d'Affaires de cette puissance à Milan ; mais je ne sache pas qu'aucun soldat ait encore touché le territoire *Français*.

J'ai rendu compte au duc de Fel-
tre que l'ennemi s'était renforcé de
deux Reg^{ts}. d'inf^{rie}. de trois mille

hommes chacun, j'apprends aujourd'hui par des prisonniers et des déser-teurs qu'il est arrivé avant hier à leur armée plusieurs bataillons de Landwert, savoir ceux des Reg^{ts}. Arch-Charles inf^{ie}., *Deutschmeister Kerpen*, *Jordis* et plusieurs autres—ce qui porte leur nouveau renfort à plus de douze mille hommes d'inf^{ie}. Le G^{nl}. Pino me mande de Bologne que le corps débarqué près de la Mesola est entré le 18 à Ferrare en même tems qu'il détachait par Rovigo un fort parti qui culbutait nos postes le long du bas Adige. Le G^{nl}. Pino supposait que l'archiduc Maximilien était lui-même à Ferrare, que les forces ennemies dans cette partie ayant été augmenté (*sic*) par un second débarquement venant de Fiume, peuvent être évaluées à 4,000^{hommes}. y compris des insurgés de l'Istrie et de la Croatie. Dès le 1^{er}. avis de ce débarquement, j'avais

dirigé sur Ostiglia deux B^{ons}. commandés par un Major avec 60 chevaux.

J'apprends que cette colonne est arrivée avant hier soir à Bondeno où elle a surpris un poste de 60 Croates qu'elle a fait prisonniers. J'attends d'un instant à l'autre des renseignements plus exacts sur les projets et la force de l'ennemi dans le bas Po.

Votre Majesté connaît la position de mes troupes, deux div^{ons}. à Vérone une div^{on}. à Rivoli et une à Ronco et Isola porcarizza ; dans cette position j'attendrai à voir un mouvement bien certain de l'ennemi avant de quitter Vérone pour marcher à lui.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec respect,

Sire,

Votre très dévoué et tendre

filz et fidel sujet


EUGÈNE NAPOLEON.



ANECDOTE OF
KING GEORGE III. AND THE LATE
MRS. ARTHUR STANHOPE.



ANECDOTE OF
KING GEORGE III. AND THE LATE
MRS. ARTHUR STANHOPE.

ORD STANHOPE, in his agreeable "Life of Pitt," speaking of the close of the Parliamentary Session of 1804, on the 31st of July (an unusually late period for the sitting of Parliament at that time), remarks, on the authority of the Speaker, "That His Majesty looked extremely well, and read his speech with great animation, but accidentally turned over two leaves together, and so omitted about one-fourth of his intended speech. It happened, however, that the transition was not incoherent, and it escaped some of the

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Cabinet who had heard it before the King delivered it.¹ Lord Stanhope proceeds to tell us that the King was at this time quite well. He spent the interval at Weymouth, and opened the next Session of Parliament in person, on the 15th of January, by a speech from the Throne. It is with reference to this, his last speech in Parliament, that I give the following anecdote, dictated to me in the year 1837 by the late Mrs. Stanhope, sister of Harriet, Countess of Chesterfield, and who, with her husband, Mr. Arthur Stanhope, was for many years honoured by the private friendship of King George III., and consequently much at Windsor.

Not many days before the meeting of Parliament Mr. and Mrs. Stanhope being on a visit to the Queen's house, and the latter play-

¹ Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," vol. iv. p. 211.

Mrs. Arthur Stanhope. 5

ing with the King at cards, His Majesty, who was at that time getting very blind, complained that "he could not see the cards." The meeting of Parliament was mentioned; the King observed that "he could not describe how he dreaded the following Tuesday" (which was the day for the opening of Parliament), "for that his eyes were now so bad that he could hardly see to read his speech at all, and he always made such mistakes" (evidently alluding to what had occurred on the 31st of July), "that he felt quite ashamed of himself, and besides," he added, "they write it in such a miserable cramped hand that it is with the greatest difficulty I can make it out." "Dear me, Sir," I said pertly enough, "I wonder your Majesty allows of that, for, if I were you, I would have the speech *printed* in such large letters that it might

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be easily read." The King made no answer to this, beyond a short dry hem! which was often his custom when not quite pleased; so I saw he did not like being advised, and I thought to myself, "Well! a pretty foolish speech I have made, I have done for myself, I see!"

No more was said on the subject, and we returned to town, and on the following Tuesday the King arrived to open the Parliament. In the evening Lord Walsingham and Lord Chesterfield came in to see us, exclaiming, "Well, Mrs. Stanhope, your name is *well up*, I can tell you, for the King says he has not read his speech so well this twenty years, and that it is all your doing;" and so it was, sure enough, for he had had the speech printed and had read it without hesitation. Soon afterwards we again went to Windsor, and after breakfast was over, the

following morning, the King and Queen as usual were leaving the room together, but when they arrived close to where I was standing the King stopped, and to the evident surprise of the Queen, began fidgeting and fumbling in his pocket; at last pulling out a printed paper he turned to me, saying he had not, he believed, for twenty years, read his speech so easily, or so much to his own satisfaction; that he owed it entirely to my suggestion and desired to acknowledge how much he felt indebted to me by presenting me with the original printed speech which he had used, and which therefore he felt sure I should value. This was the last time he ever opened Parliament in person. The speech, now in my possession, is printed on a foolscap sheet of thick paper in a very large type, and being the only one ever used by a British sovereign,

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as I believe, at the opening or proroguing of Parliament, which was not in manuscript, it is here reprinted, though its interest mainly lies in the above anecdote, which I offer for preservation in the miscellany of the Philobiblon Society.

EV. PH. SHIRLEY.¹

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Since the end of the last Session the preparations of the enemy for the invasion of this kingdom have been continued with incessant activity; but no attempt has been made to carry their repeated menaces into effect.

The skill and intrepidity of my Navy, the respectable and formidable state of my Army and Militia; the unabated zeal and improved discipline of a numerous Volunteer

¹ Grandson of the late Mrs. Arthur Stanhope.

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Force ; and the general ardour manifested by all classes of my subjects, have indeed been sufficient to deter them from so presumptuous and desperate an enterprise. While this spirit continues to animate the country, and its voluntary exertions for its own defence subsist in their full vigour, we need not fear the consequences of the most powerful efforts on the part of the enemy. But let us never forget that our security has arisen from the resolution with which we have met and provided against the danger, and that it can be preserved only by steady perseverance and unremitting activity.

The conduct of the Court of Spain, evidently under the predominant influence and control of France, compelled me to take prompt and decisive measures to guard against the effects of hostility. I have, at

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the same time, endeavoured, as long as it was possible, to prevent the necessity of a rupture; but, in consequence of the refusal of a satisfactory explanation, my Minister quitted Madrid, and war has since been declared by Spain against this country.

I have directed a copy of the manifesto which I have caused to be prepared on this occasion to be laid before you, together with such papers as are necessary to explain the discussions which have taken place between me and the Court of Madrid. You will, I trust, be convinced by them, that my forbearance has been carried to the utmost extent which the interests of my dominions would admit; and while I lament the situation of Spain, involved in hostilities contrary to its true interests, I rely with confidence on your vigorous support in a con-

Mrs. Arthur Stanhope. 11

test, which can be attributed only to the unfortunate prevalence of French counsels.

The general conduct of the French Government on the Continent of Europe has been marked by the utmost violence and outrage, and has shown a wanton defiance of the rights of neutral territories, of the acknowledged privileges of accredited ministers, and of the established principles of the law of nations.

Notwithstanding these transactions, so repugnant to every sentiment of moderation and justice, I have recently received a communication from the French Government containing professions of a pacific disposition. I have in consequence expressed my earnest desire to embrace the first opportunity of restoring the blessings of peace, on such grounds as may be consistent with

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the permanent safety and interests of my dominions; but I am confident you will agree with me that those objects are closely connected with the general security of Europe. I have therefore not thought it right to enter into any more particular explanation without previous communication with those powers on the Continent with whom I am engaged in confidential intercourse and connection, with a view to that important object, and especially with the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wise and dignified sentiments by which he is animated, and of the warm interest he takes in the safety and independence of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—

I have directed the estimates for the publick service to be laid before

Mrs. Arthur Stanhope. 13

you. I regret the necessity of any additional burdens being imposed on my people, but I am sure you will be sensible how much their future safety and happiness depend on the vigour of our exertions, and that, in the mode of raising the supplies, you will continue to show your anxiety for the support of publick credit, and for restraining as much as possible the accumulation of the National Debt.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In considering the great efforts and sacrifices which the nature of the contest requires, it is a peculiar satisfaction to me to observe the many proofs of the internal wealth and prosperity of the country. It will, I am sure, be your great object to maintain and improve these advantages, and at the same time to take all such measures as, by enabling

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me to prosecute the war with vigour,
may afford the best prospect of bringing it to a safe and honourable termination.



PAPERS RELATING TO MARY
QUEEN OF SCOTS.



PAPERS RELATING TO MARY
QUEEN OF SCOTS.

HE MSS. from which these papers have been printed form part of the private collection of General the Rt. Hon. Sir William Knollys, K.C.B., in whose family they have remained ever since they were written. With the exception of No. 2, which has been published in Thomas Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. page 289, but of which the original rough draft is here given, none of the documents appear to have been printed. Only two or three more seem to have come under

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the notice of the historians of the reign of Elizabeth. The existence of this part of Sir W. Knollys's Collection of MSS. is however mentioned in Appendix VIII. of the Hon. and Rev. H. A. Napier's "Historical Notices of the parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme."

Most of the letters are addressed to, or written by, Sir Francis Knollys, several of whose ancestors are known to have lived in Oxfordshire. He was born in 1514, filled some minor offices at the courts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but under Mary Tudor was obliged to retire to Germany on account of his decided Protestant views. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England and was immediately made a member of the Privy Council. He successively received the appointments of Treasurer of the Chamber, Captain of the Queen's Guard, Vice-

chamberlain, and Treasurer of the Household, besides several other permanent and temporary offices. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1593. In the first Parliament of Elizabeth he sat for the borough of Arundell, and from her second Parliament to the end of his life in 1596 he represented the county of Oxford. Sir Francis was married to the Cousin German of Queen Elizabeth, Catherine, daughter of William Carey by Mary, daughter of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, and sister to Queen Anne Boleyn. Of his eight sons and eight daughters, seven sons and four daughters only seem to have reached an advanced age. The second son, Sir William Knollys, was created in 1603 Baron Knollys of Greys, in 1616 Viscount Wallingford, and in 1625 Earl of Banbury. As he was the eldest son living at the time of

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Sir Francis's death, he was appointed his father's executor, and thus through his descendants Sir Francis's papers, as well as those of his uncle Henry Knollys, have come into the possession of the present Sir William Knollys. Sir Francis's eldest daughter, Lettice Knollys, married 1, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, + 1576, 2, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, + 1588, and 3, Sir Christopher Blount, who was beheaded in 1601. The same fate was shared in the same year by her son Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

1. *Sir William Cecil to Sir Francis Knollys.*

In Cecil's own handwriting, but directed in a different hand: "To the right honorable S^r Francis knolles knight one of the Queens ma^{ty} pvy counsell her highnes vicechamberleyn and thr^{er} of her chamber."

S^r. This beror hath tarryed Long

here for lack of power to gyve him
direct answ. the Q. Ma^{ty} purposyng
frō tyme to tyme to wryte to y^e
scottish Quene and now in the end
she will not, having also answered
y^e L. Herriſs to ſuch l^res as laſt cā
frō y^t Quene and hir Ma^{ty} reſolutiō
is y^t ſhe wold have y^t Quene remove
to boltō Caſtell w^c ſhe ernestly
wiſheth to be doone. And ſo
lacky^g leſure to wryte any more but
my Comēd. both to yow and my
good Lord Scroope I end amōgſt
cartis this Tueſday morny^g 12. July.
at Haward

1568.

Yours affuredly

W. CICILLE.

NOTE.—The ſpelling of the original MSS.,
including the uſe of capital letters, has been
ſtrictly followed throughout all theſe papers.

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2. *Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil.*

Rough draft written by a clerk, with corrections in Sir Francis's own hand (the latter printed in italics). Endorsed: ".16. of Julye. 1568. my lett to m^r secretarie."

We receuid your lett of y^e .12. hereoff on Wensdaye night very late, and We arivid heare at bolton Castell wth this Q. yester night ane oure after sonne settinge, and since her deptur frome karlill hethervnto she hathe bene verie quiet, verie tractable, and voyd of displefant cōtinance. Althoe she semeth she woll not remove any furder into the realme wythout constraynt the w^{ch} removing woll easlier be done, yf it be taken in hand by bett^r parsonages than we are. Ther hathe bene no repaire vnto her by the way as might have bene lokte for, the w^{ch} repaire I suppose hathe bene abridgid by o^r sharpe dealinge wth one xpofo^r lasells cominge to karlill

out of yorkshier aboute .3. weks paste
of porpose to se this Q., and because
we vnderstode him to be not onelie
alewd practisar and arrogant papist,
but also that he had bene in disple-
sure afore time for practising wth
this Q., therfore after that he had
confessed that he came of purpose to
se the Q. dwellinge in yorksher, and
that he had bene in troble ~~afore~~
~~time for this Q. hyr fake or cause.~~
we declaring first vnto him that
no subiect of the Q. highnes
ought to hono^r an other prince wth
his p^rsence in form of visitacon or
welcoming the same, wthoute comif-
sion or conducton of some of his
superiors, we chose this ill man to
disgrace for an example in this sorte,
we appointed M^r morton to retorne
wth him to his Lodginge, and to ac-
companie him vntill he had made
him redie to ried wth spede, and had

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ſene him oute of the gates home-
wards agaī wthoute ſeing of this Q.
as his intent was,

This howſe apperithe to be verie
ſtronge, verie fair, & verie ſtatlie
after tholde maner of buldinge, and
is the higheſt wallid houſe that I
have ſene, and hathe but one en-
trance therinto, and halfe the number
of M^r reads bande may better watche
and ward the ſame then the hole
number therof cold doe karlill
caſtell whear M^r read and his ſol-
diers, and M^r morton, and M^r wil-
ford toke great pains & *my L. Scrope*
alſo was a late watcher, the band was
devidid into .5. pts ſo that the watch
and ward cam about eu^ri fivthe night
and eu^ri 5th day of the w^{ch} watch and
ward we had .5. governors the firſt was
M^r read and willm knowlls for his
learninge accompanied him.

The 2^o. was M^r morton, third was
M^r wilford, the 4th was baret M^r

reads liveteñant, the .5.th was west his
añcient berar averie fufficient and
carefull man also, the Q. chamber at
karlill had a window loking oute
toward skotland, the barrs whearof
beinge filed asunder oute of the same
she might have bene lett downe, and
then she had plain grownde before
her to passe into skotlande, But nere
vnto the same windowe we fownde
an old posterne dore that was damp-
nid vp wth a rampier of earthe betwē
~~.2. walls. on the inner syde of .20 foot~~
broade and 30. foote depe *betwene*
.2. walles: ffor the comoditie of w^{ch}
posterne for o^r falye to that win-
dowe, and wth redie watche & ward
~~to the same~~ we did cutt into that
ramper in forme of a stayre wth
atorninge about downe to the said
posterne and so openid the same, wth-
oute the w^{ch} device we cold not
have watchid & gardid this Q. there
so safelie as we did althoghe there

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was an other windowe of her chamb^r
for passing into ~~the towne oute of~~
~~the castell~~ an orchard wthin the
towne wall and so to have slipped
over the towne wall, *that* was also
verie dangerous, but these matters I
cann better tell yo^u at my retorne,
vpon a rewd plott that I have drawne
therof, Nowe if ye like well of o^r
removing of this Q. hether, then I
p^ry yo^u confider that yo^u cold assiste
me in backinge of vs to the achiving
of this enterprice that had so manie
dificulties *therin* is worthie of no
prays at all. But ~~because~~ *althoe* a
foolls bolt ~~is~~ *be* sone shott, ~~ye shall geve~~
~~me leave to feare, that no counterfeit~~
~~police of any regiment will achive~~
~~great enterpries nor continue longe~~
~~wthoute great prill,~~ *yet I dare not*
tell youe all that I thynk herein./
Nowe I truste yo^u will retorne me
home furthwth because I *see* no reason
nor grownd of my staying heare any

longer for this as towching the de-
fraying of the chardgs this klarke
being a sufficient, carefull, and honest
man.

Having his pporcon sett downe
carten ~~it w^{ch}~~ wolbe ptlie abridgid by
my deptyng hence will easlie dis-
chardge his duetic in that behalfe,
and wheras I do no good heare, I
may either ferve ~~to fill a place~~ as a
scipher in a grame at the court, *I mean*
to occupie a place there, or I may be
dismissid to the cart w^{ch} is fitter for
me. 16. Julii. 1568. *post scripte. the*
charges of removing of this Q, hether
was somewhat the larger, bycause we
were dryven to byer .4. lytle carrs and
.20. carriage horses, & 16 .23. saddle
horses for byr women & men to byr
comoditie & satisfaction the w^{ch} was
well accomplished vppon the sodayn to
byr comoditie & satisfactiō.

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3. *Sir Francis Knollys to his Wife.*

In Sir Francis's own handwriting and directed by him "*To his loving wyffe the ladie katryn knollys.*"

I am very sorye to here that youe are fallen into a feverre, I wold to god I were so dispatched hence that I myght onely attend & care for you^r good recoverye: I trust youe shall shortly overcome this fever & recover good helthe agayne, for althoe in you^r helthe youe doe often forgett to p event syknes by dve & precise order, yet when youe are fallen into syknes, youe woll then (althoe it be late) observe very good order.

Bryggħm & the lyttle lackeye are cvm hether vnto me wth the two lyttle grey naggs, and sorryll wylford and the black geldyng & ~~4~~ payre of. Bryggħm tells me that Edward knollys is sycke of an agve, & y^t otherwyes youe wold haue sent hym hether to me, but yf he had come, I

doe not looke y^t he wold have vsed hym selffe halffe so well as wylliam knollys hathe done, for wth his cvrtesie & good discretion he hathe gotten here a very good opynyon of all sortes, among the w^{ch} nvmer the Q. grace here is one, whoe can discern a young mans towardnes very well, wth whom he hathe vttered his frenche tynge often tymes, althoe it was longe or she had any speache wth hym. I haue ben dryven to many contentions wth this Q. before she wold remove from Carlylle hether, but yet she hathe that good nature that althoe she can not forbayre to vtter hyr stvmmack, so yet she is soone pacesied agayne, or rather she woll seeke reconciliation in pleasant sorte & maner: But nowe I pray youe help that I may be revoked and retorne agayne, for I haue lytle to doe here & I may be spared hence very well, I haue wrytton earnestly

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to m^r secretarie in this behalffe:
The great matt^r that I had to doe
is paste, w^{ch} was the removynge of
this Q. safelye hethether: The w^{ch}
thyng, my L. Scroope saythe, never
a cownsayllor in ynglond wold haue
done but my selffe, beyng so wekely
backed therunto as we haue ben.—
My L. Scroope wth the helpe of
kaptayn Reade & fyfye of his
soldcars here remaynynge can kepe
hyr safely in this stronge howse;
And yf hyr hyghnes wolle remove
hyr furder into y^e realme, some
noble man wolbe appoynted therunto
(as my L. of Shrewsbury was named)
for I am nowe discredited wth hyr,
for she fyndes that I had no sotte
awthoretie to remove hyr as I pre-
tended, as m^r Secretary can tell youe,
so y^t I am most vnfytt to deale any
furder. And thus wysshyng you^r
good and comfortable recovery to
you^r owne satisfaction & myne, I

Queen of Scots. 17

shall comyt youe to god. from
Bolton kastyll the .29. of Julye,
1568.

your loving hvsband.

F. KNOLLYS.

I praye youe remember me to my
brother, wth thanks also for his lett^r,
desiryng hym to pardon my not
wrytyng presently to hym, synce I am
otherwaies tyred wth wrytyng in this
vnthankfull service./

4. *Robert Bestney and Francis Fryer
to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by Fryer and directed by him "To
the right honorable o^r synguler good M^r S^r.
Franncs knollys knyghte vycechamberleyn to
the Q. Ma^{ty}. and Tresourer of y^e Chamber
&c."

Endorsed by Sir Francis "29th of Julye 1568.
my klerks lett^r to me."

It may please yo^r honor to be
advertyfed. That by virtue of the

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Q. ma^{ty} pryvie Seale bearinge date the xxiiijth of Julye procured by m^r Secretary we haue receyved the xxviiijth of the same of mr. Stoneley one of the Tellars of the schequer the some of ffyve houndrethe poundes to be vsed by yo^r hono^r and by yo^r appoyntemente for the defrayinge of the Quene of Scotts charges. We attended vpon m^r. Secretarye yesterday at his howse by Waltham for his order for the safe sendinge of the money vnto yo^u, whose plesure was y^t we shoulde shewe yo^u y^t his advice is y^t by some meanes yo^r hono^r doe practyse wth some marchannte or Clothier of yorke or at wakefylde to delyver yo^u D[£] there, and vpon y^r retorne of yo^r bylle vnto vs to receyve yt ageyn at London at the howse of me. ffrancys ffryer. where yt dothe and shall remayne, tylle we here from yo^r hono^r whiche we looke

for wth spede. My Ladye god be thanked is in y^e waye of recoveringe, havinge in effecte altogether escaped her fyttē once or twyse. She is presentlye at m^r Stanleys of y^e mynte and hathe byn this vij or viij^{te} dayes paste. M^r Secretarye requyred vs to wryte his hartye comendacons vnto yo^u. He ys presentlye at his howse by waltham, where he hathe had iij or iiij^r shrewd fyttis of an agewe, but god be thanked nowe in good hope of amendemente. We sende vnto yo^r hono^r hereincloused a quyttannce to y^e whiche yt may please yo^u to subscribe yo^r name for the Receipte of the sayd D[£]. And thus wth o^r humble dewtyes vnto yo^r hono^r we comynte yowe to Almightye god. From y^e Courte at Hatfylde the xxixth of Julye 1568./ Yo^r hono^{rs}. humble s^rrvnts

Ro: BESTNEY. FRA: FFRYER.

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5. *The Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Knollys.*

In Leicester's own hand and directed by him "To my very frend S^r. franncs Knowells Knight vycechābleyn to y^e Q. ma^{ty} & of her p^rwy counsell wth all hast. For her ma^{ty} affaires."

Endorsed by Sir Francis "9th of august 1568. my L. of Leicester to me."

M^r Vycechamberleyn I have recy^or lēre in answer of myne touching that Q. furnytur vnto w^{ch} again her ma^{ty} hath comanded me to lett ye vnderstand she ys gladd my L. Scrope hath so honorably cared for the same for assurly as she hopeth matters wyll shortly grow to some end. Wherof what her determy-
nacon ys ye shall shortly more at length here frō her. Her ma^{ty} pleasure ys to haue the lytter retorned bycause that Q. never vseth any. Befyde her pleasure ys that ye cause firch to be made in that countrey

for the fayrest geldings ye can gett
and y^t ye provyde iij for that Q.
owē saddle or ij at least. And as
ye haue done so for the rest of her
women so make shift among yo^r
frends & gents there to borrow for
thē. For the other for the Q. self
she woll haue buye ij or iij for her.
This ys all for those matt^r I had in
chardge to wryt. Y^e newes be
naught of conte Lodowyck. he ys
overthrowen but escaped in p^rson
Sō say the prince of orange ys in
the field wth a strong power. I pray
god he be though I dowbt yt. Thus
fare ye well, my la. yo^r wyfe ys
well agayn. but I fere her dyet and
order. in hast this vij of August.
removing day.

yo^r long¹ frend

R. LEYCESTER.

¹ This is probably only a contraction of
“loving.”

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6. *Sir Francis Knollys to the Earl of Leiceſter.*

Copy, written by a clerk, but endorſed in Sir Francis's own hand "12 of *Aguſte. my L^{re} to my L. of leiceſter.*"

I thought to haue takin my Jernye towards Barwyke yesterdaye as I ſignified to yo^r L. Becauſe yet I haue herd nothings of hir highnes contentation thearwth nether of yo^r L. advyce thearin & becauſe my doings here have ben conſtrued there otherwyſe then I loked for: Thearfore I haue ſtayed that Jernye vntyll wyllyam knollys & wylfords retorne, or vntyll I here furder in that behalfe.

Bycauſe this Q. hathe delight in huntynge, and for the ſatisfyinge of hyr dyet to hyr contentation, I haue takin vppon me to haue awthorytie to ſhoe hyr paſtyme in hyr hyghnes parks & chaſes hereabowtes to that

intent & purpose. And all the keepers hereabowtes haue obeyed thearvnto. And lately my L. of Northumberland hathe gyven specyall order for the obedience of the keepers w^{thin} hys rules accordynglye. And yester-daye m^r Sare, a gentelman of good countenance havinge the ov^rsyght of all my L. of Northumberlandes rules in thes parties made this Q. fotche good sporte of fayre cowrsynge in the chafe of Byfshopdale 4 miles hence at redd deere, that she confessed she never dyd see fayrer cowrses in hyr lyfe. We killed only 3 hynds, bycause that chafe is not replenished, and all the parks hereabowtes are also said to be decayed of game. And some saye the Lacke of allowance for wallynge & pallynge is sum cawse of y^e decaye of the game in y^e parks. The gretest and vsualst huntinge that this Q. hitherto hathe hadd, hathe ben in my L.

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Scropes owne parke and comonlye
we hunte wth houndes.

Here is no preassing to this howse
to se this Q. nether is there anye
preffinge to see hyr abroad, other-
wyse then of neyghbors in convenient
order.

And thus wth my humble comen-
dacions to yo^r L. I comytte the same
to god.

Ffrom Bolton Castell this thurs-
daye the 12th of August 1568.

yo^r L. to comawnde.

post-script. I mervayle I here not of
my revocation nether at
m^r secretaries hands nor
y^r L.

7. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope &
Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign
Manual. Directed "To o^r right trusty and
welbeloved the lorde Scroope warden of o^r

west marches towards Scotlande and to oʒ trustye and right welbeloved counfelloʒ Sʒ ffrauncs knolls knight oʒ vicechaĩblayne." Endorſed by one of Sir Francis's clerks "12. of Aguste 1568. the Q. Līe to me."

ELIZABETH R. By the Queene.

Right trusty and welbeloved and trusty and right well beloved we grete yo^u well. Fforasmuche as we haue at the lord Harriſſe being here with vs for the Queene of Scotts, accorded to take into oʒ ordre the sayd Queene's causes, and sending for certayne of most estimation being of hir adviſe parti to treate therevpon, and as we certaynely intende to make ſumē good ende honorable for hir, reaſonable for them, and meete for quieting of that realme, and to funder the ſame haue deviſed to haue a ſurceance of all hoſtilitie on both partes, whereunto both the Queene by hir fundrie lʒes and the Earle of murrey by his, hath aſſentyd and made promys, yet we ar credibly

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informed, and haue some cause to gather the same more probable by such writings as you our vicechamberlayne lately sent to vs, by the commaundment of the sayd Queene, that on the partie holding with the sayd Queene, there are great assemblies made of force, and determinations to procede against the Earle of murray and his party by armes and all manner acts of hostilitie, thereby seeking to ordre and ende the causes partially and by blood, which are committed to vs to ordre and ende indifferently without blood, wherein of honnor and reputation shall be much touched. And further we be certainly informed that a nombre of disordered loose men neare vpon our borders of the east and myddle marches, are dayly in armes, and, as they saye, are so commaunded to be by that Queene, who besydes theyr particular hostilitie which they vse

agaynst suche as depende vppon the Earle of murrey, doo spoyle our subiects, and committ dayly acts of open hostilitie with a playne intention to make a kynde of warr, to thintent thereby to escape the answering by ordre of the lawe of the marches, suche offences as allredy they haue committed, and ar bounde to make satisfaction: wee haue thought mete not to suffer these manner of procedings contrary to the Queenes promis and agreement, and contrary to all honnorable good meaning, hauing respect how favorably wee have delt with the sayd Queene in this hir distresse. and therefore as wee haue allredy writton vnto hir in this behalf, so wee wolde haue yo^u in o^r name to breake playnely with hir herein, and let hir knowe that seing wee haue entred into the ordering and ending of hir causes by quietnes at hir re-

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quest, and that the Earle of murray and his parte doo ceasse all hostilitie, and ar content to abyde our ordre, we cannot but fynde o^r hono^r muche touched herein to see hir party by gathering of force to seeke to avenge hir cause, whereof p^rcase they may allso mysse, and as it were thereby in the fight of the world to delude vs. And therefore yo^u shall assure hir, if hir party shall in this manner procede, wee knowe what wee have to doo to preserve our hono^r. And herevppon what so ever answer she shall make wherein wee may be abused, yf yo^u fynde that hir partie contynueth by hostilitie to invade the other party, being not thereto provoked, we will yo^u our warden of that west marches to repayre to our frontier, and there by all good pollicie and secret manner to procure as yo^u best can that suche as be of the Queenes parte vppon that fron-

tier and doo vse hostilitie agaynst the others may sharply tast of sume displeasures, and the contrary parte fele also somee suche favo^r as borders ar woont, whan they ar secretly wynked vpon, to doo. And if nede bee, for the better furdurance hereof, you may also have conference with S^r John fforster to concurre herein with yo^r devises, to whome wee haue also writton in this behalf. and of yo^r doings and intentions herein wee wolde be spedely adv^rtised, for if wee shall be thus abused, wee meane that the Queene shall not have suche free conference wth hir partie, nor they haue suche free accesse in to our realme as hitherto they have had thereby to abuse vs. we sende vnto yo^u herewth an abstract of a lre sent from the m^rshall of Barwyk touching these adv^rtisemēts as he hath receyved, w^{ch} when yo^u shall have p^rved yo^u may shewe vnto the sayd

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Queene. Yeeven vnd^r o^r Signet at
o^r mano^r of Whaddon the xijth of
August the xth yere of o^r Reigne.

8. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis
Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign
Manual. Directed "To o^r trusty and right
welbeloved counsellor s^r frances knollys knight
o^r vichamberlein Treaforer of our chamber."
Endorsed by Sir Francis "y^e. 2. of September.
1568. the Q. highnes to me."

ELIZABETH R. By the Quene.

Trusty and right welbeloved coun-
fello^r we grete yo^u well. We have
seen yo^r lres of the xxixth of the last
moneth and such others as were
directed to vs from the Lords of
Scotland serving the Quene. And
by yours we do pceave the Quenes
ernest desire, that we shuld staye the
Erle of Murreys rigorous maⁿer of
dealing in executing of the proces of
the late parliament, wherby it se-

meth that fundry parsons dwelling nere Edenburgh will before the xiiijth of this moneth come vnto him and be sworne to his party, if we do not spedely pvide remedy for the same. Wherefore we have thought mete spedely to addresse o^r l^{res} vnto the said Erle of Murrey, and likewise to advertise the Lords of Scotland w^{ch} now did write vnto vs of our intention. And because you shall well pceave what we have written, we have given order that the copies of the said l^{res} shalbe herwth dispatched, w^{ch} when you have well considered, we wold have you to impart the contents therof to the Quene of Scots, Or if you think good to lett her see the copies of the same l^{res} And because her disposi^{con} herin may be satisfied, we do send the l^{res} directed to the Erle of Murrey to yo^r hands to be sent to the said Erle by the west borders as she shall direct, orells to

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the Lord Hunfden ¹ o^r govern^r of Barwick to be by him sent to the said Erle. According whervnto we require yo^u to pcede, and therof to advertise vs. And likewise to lett vs vnderstand the Quenes determination whōm she will appoint comiff. . . . ² for hir, and whith^r they may not be at york the ² of this moneth, and if it might be soner we w ² have ben the gladder. And before these late new troubles ch ² we found not but the Erle of Murrey was content to have had the cause hard in the begiñing of this moneth. And now as we shall heare answer from that Quene for hir comiffioners, and from the Erle of Murrey, So will we order ours to be at york, w^{ch} we trust may be by the end of this

¹ Lord Hunfden was the brother of Sir Francis's wife.

² These words are incomplete, owing to the edge of the MS. having been damaged.

moneth or shortly after. We have of late receaved two lres from the Quene of Scotts, the one was written before Borthick returned thither, the other came this morning w^t the lres from the Lords of Scotland; and because these o^r lres w^{ch} we now write are answers to the materiall contents therof, you shall pray the Quene to find no lack in that we do not make answer to her self by any lre of our owne, assuring hir that in this o^r progress we are so impeached w^t o^r travell, that we could not have leasure therto, But vpon the next occasion we will write, and you may adde that of all labors we most mislike to write, for fuerly we never almost write any lres to any prince, and mo we have written to hir sence she came into o^r realme, than ever we did sence o^r reigne to all Princes christined, yea to all parsons extant.

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Where in hir lres she semeth that the reports made to vs of wrongs comitted by hir obedient subiects vpon ours are not to be pved; We will cause inquirye to be truly made, So as she shalbe particularly aduertised of that w^{ch} shalbe to vs informed.

You shall also require hir to remēber of what importance it may be to this hir cause if the Duke bring any forain force w^t him into Scotland for we shall not beare therwth, and so we have always from the begiñing declared o^r determination. geuen vnder o^r Signet at o^r man^or of Ewelme the second of September 1568 the xth yere of o^r reigne.

9. *The Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by Leicester himself, but directed in a different hand "To my verye frend S^r.

Francis knowlles knyght vizchamberleyn to the Quenes ma^{ty} gve this."

Endorsed by Sir Francis ".3. of September .1568. my L. of Lescyter to me."

Mr vycechamberleyn, yo^u must hold me excused y^t I haue not answered yo^r leſres er this tyme—ptely I dowbt not but yo^u vnderstand I had occasion to be at my howse at Kenelworth and y^t tyme spent and almost x or xij days in such fort as I could not conveniently wryte, and ptly synse hauing lytle leasur I pceaue by m^r secretery y^t he had supplied my place in adv^tysing yo^u that w^c I shuld haue done, & therfore I took y^e longer tyme w^a hauing this convenient messenger I thought to deferre no longer, lest yo^u might think me all to gether forgetfull. And touching the matt^{er} yo^u wroght of her ma^{ty} ys loth to send any horses for that Q. hauing verry fewe for her owē saddle & the rest nothing worth or met for her to send. But

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ys still of mynd that ther may be better provyded among the gentlemen of y^t country, w^c yf yt cannott be I pray yoⁿ fend word that her ma^{te} may vnderstand the same & I wyll do what I can though hetherto I could not bring this to passe. We hear no stir of newes here. her ma^{te} ys well & all yo^r ffrends her. So I comytt yoⁿ to god & bid yoⁿ fare well in hast at Wallingford this 3 of September.

Yo^r assured frend

R. LEYCESTER.

10. *Sir Francis Knollys to the Earl of Leiceſter.*

Rough draft written by a clerk with corrections in Sir Francis's own handwriting, (the latter printed in italics). Endorſed: "*.12. of September .1568. my lett^r to my L. of Leſcyter.*"

I have recevid yo^r L. *verye* gentill curteys L^re of the .3. of this monthe, and p^{ce}ave *also* therbye yo^r L. lacke

of conuenient store of horses to be
 sparid ~~for am~~ for this Q. saddle,
 And that her highnes dothe thinke
 that better pvision mighte be made
 heare. by me amongs the gentillmen
 of this contrey to serue that torn,
~~But furelie my L. so that~~ I am vtterlie
 vnhabie to gett suche horses ~~for any~~
~~mony in this contrey in these partes,~~
y^t are conuenient, and nowe we stand
 in worse case then eu^r we did, for
 one horse of myne, and an other of
 her owne that of late this Q. hathe
 moste ~~v-ridden vpon~~ *used for hyr*
owne saddle are nowe become thone
 sicke, and thother lame, wherfore
~~we have nowe more nede of yo^r L.~~
~~helpe in this behalfe,~~ And furelie I
~~can neither see nor heare of any~~
~~conuenient horses in this contrey~~
~~that are to be had for monie, and~~
~~fitt to be p^rfetid frome her highnes~~
~~accordinglie,~~ Whearfore I shall de-
 siere yo^r L. ~~good~~ to have some good

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consideratō hearof that her highnes
by yo^r L. advice and order may
spedilier relife this neseffetic heare
~~for this contrey is the barreneste of~~
~~good horses that ever I came in,~~
And But surely my L. as, this
contrey ow^t part of yorkshere is barren,
mowntanous, and wild to loke on,
so the ge gentillmen hearabouts are
but Ruede and symple furnished.
And thus comēdyng y^e discharge of
my service here so tediously contynved to
yo^r L. good word. I shall et cet .12.
of september .1568.

11. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To our trustie and right welbeloued counsaile^r S^r frances knolles knight our vicechamberling & &c." Endorsed by Sir Francis ".2. of october. 1568. ~~my~~ L. the Q. byghnes lett^r to me."

ELIZABETH R. By the Queene.

Trustie and right welbelouid we greete you well. Forasmuche as we finde by sondry Arguments, that the Queene there, of late hath much increased her boldnes, and that her frends allso abroad vse many deuises to exorte her vp to encountre vs and the quietnes of o^r Estate; and that at this tyme whilest her Cause is to be harde, she will omitt no meanes to recouer fauor and allowance amongst suche of o^r Subiects, as are to be easely drawn to her; We think it very necessary, that you vse

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the more circumspection in prohibiting the Accessse, that seemith to vs is suffred for suche of our Subiects to com to her presence, as ought to haue nothing to doo w^t her: And therin you shall doo well w^tout noti- fieng any thing to her selfe or to hers, to lett all other English men learne how it shall not becom any of them but suche as necessarily are appoynted by you to wayte vpon the seruice of her, to resorte to that place, or to com into her sight at any tyme. And though we meane not that she shuld finde her selfe to be heerby kepte as a prisonner, yet truly we see suche perill as weare not to be recouered, if a free accessse shall be pmitted for all parsons to com and speake w^t her, or to com into her presence, where she may vse her speeches to them. And considering how earnest yo^r selfe allwais hath bene w^t vs (w^{ch} surely we see no

cause to disallowe) that she shulde not be any wise exalted in credit or estimation: We maruaile that you doo not more restrayne resorte of nombers to her presence; w^{ch} wolde be forseene indirectly w^{out} opening the same to her selfe. And so we earnestly require you to see doñ, And that specially now whilest her Cause shall be harde; for we are credibly enfourmed that she is counsailed to sett a greate countenance vpon her maters, and so therby to gayne more credit, than is meete she shuld haue, excepte she had better deseruid towards God and the worlde. Yeven vnder o^r Signet at o^r Castle of windfor the ij^{de} daie of october .1568. the xth yeere of o^r Raigne.

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12. *Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil.*

Copy, written by a clerk, but endorsed in Sir Francis's own hand: "*.9. of October .1568. my letter to m^r Secretarie.*" The original, as mentioned by Froude, *History of England*, vol. ix. page 286, is among the MSS. Queen of Scots, Rolls House.

My L. grace of Norfolks sendinge for me to bolton to attende uppō him here thursdaye last, I made my re- pare hether accordyngly meninge to staye here vntyll mondaye next: As towching y^e matters of the comiſſyon y^e his grace and the rest haue from hyr highnes, hys grace hathe vmparted vnto me of all things thervnto ap- pertayninge, & what hathe hetherto passed, and althoe the matters be to wayghtie, for my weake capacitie to presume to vtter any opinion of myn owne therof: yet I ſe that my L. herryſ for his partye laboreth a re- conſiliation to be had wth howte the

extremitye of odious accusations, my L. Ledington also saythe to me that he wold wyshe these matters to be eanded in dulce maner, so that it might be done wth safetye: of the rest you can conceyve by the advertisments & wrytings sent vp by o^r comyffioners.

I am suer m^r Morby is aryved at the Cowrt wth doct^r Marshall (yf god hath p^spered his Jernye) by this tyme. And I suppose you maye easylie make doct^r marshall preache at Pawle crosse to yo^r contenta^con, and great dislykinge of the papists.

I meane to take the 300£ wth me to Bolton that m^r Sadler offereth to deliuer vnto me.

And thus wth most harty comendations, I shall comyt you to god. ffro yorke the .9th. of October .1568.

post script. After I had closed this letter I receyved hir highnes letter

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of the .2. and yours of the .4th.
hearof, that had ben at Bolton &
so wear retorned hether to me.
I haue answered the matter of hir
highnes letter I trust sufficiently
to hir contentaçon, in my lre to
you of the .4th. hereof, yet this
admonition I woll not forgett.
I am glad to here by you that hir
highnes is wakened to loke to hir
suertie, and god I trust will defend
hir from all wyked spirites. My
L. Herris I take a ptestant tem-
porall onely. I thank you for yo^r
newes as well fro beyond the seas,
as of the helthie estate of my
wyfes.

13. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis
Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To o' trusty and right welbeloved counsaillor S' francs knollys knight o' vichamberlein," with the addition in Sir William Cecil's hand "to be sent sub york to bolton
W. CECILLE."

Endorsed by Sir Francis ".16. Octobr. 1568.
the Q. lett' to me."

ELIZABETH R. By the Quene.

Trusty and right welbeloued Coun-
fello' we grete yow well. We haue of
late receaued kowledg from our
Comissioners at York, in what fort
the Quene of Scotts Comissioners
there haue in her name charged the
other party, and how they haue
answered the same: Whervpon we
find such difficulty how to direct our
Comissioners by way of writing vnto
them, as we haue thought it better
for the expedition of the cause, to
haue one of our Comissioners to

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come vpp to vs, and one of ether side also of the other parties, w^t whom we meane by way of speche so to treate and informe our self, as therby we shall other ways and more easely growe to some good resolution, than we see it possible to be don by way of writing vnto our Comissioners. For which purpose at this present we haue written to that entent to our Comissioners, And therof ment at this present time to haue written to the Quene our good sister to thend she might vnderstand our good meaning: But hauing our right hand by meanes of riding this present day so strayned, as we can not w^tout great payne write only our name, We haue caused our Secretery to write this lre vnto yow, willing yow to impart this matter vnto hir, and to shew hir the cause why we write not at this tyme, assuring her that we

meane to expedite this matter vpon the coming of the parties hither as speedely as any wise the matter will suffer.

Yow may also require the said Quene to beare w^t vs, in that we haue not by speciall writing sent answer to hir late l^{res}, for that the matters therein conteyned were before tyme answered, And furder also hir said seruāt Beton had at his access to vs w^t the said l^{res} our mind for answer to the content of hir said l^{res}. Yeuē vnder our Signet at our Castle of windfor the xvjth of October 1568 the xth yere of our Reigne.

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14. *Sir William Cecil to Sir Francis Knollys.*

In Cecil's own hand, but directed by a clerk
"To the right hono^rable S^r Frances knolles
knight her ma^{ty} vicecha^mblain, and of her
priue counsell &c^r." 29.

Endorsed by Sir Francis "30 *octobr* .1568.
nt secretaris to me."

S^r /. this frydaye late in y^e night
I being at my house at westm^r re-
ceaved your lre of y^e 25. by which
yow doo very wisely remēbre how
pilloofs it may be if y^e Q. of Scotts
shuld smell of any hardnes towards
hir, les she wold scape from yow of
w^c matter I have wrytten by y^e Q.
Ma^{ty} Cōmādmēt .2. dayes past as I
dovt not but yow have befor this
tyme pceaved. And therfor lyke
as I dovnt not but yow will have
care, so will I at my retorn to y^e Court
pcure as much meane as I cā. and
in y^e meane tyme I thynk good y^t
w^t all spede yow doo answer vs, how

Queen of Scots. 49

she might be cōducted to Tutbury
wher I see hir Ma^{ty} will have hir
and for y^t purpoose on is sent thyther
to make p^{ro}visiō of wyne beare and
woode./ and for other thȳgs we must
lern frō yow what is of necessitie to
be had before she can remove./

and so I end being almost slepȳg.
29 octob^r. 1568

Yours assuredly

W. CICILLE.

15. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope
& Sir Francis Knollys.*

The whole letter in Sir William Cecil's
hand, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Di-
rected by a clerk "To our Right and wel-
beloued the Lord Scrope warden of our
marches anempst Scotland, and our Trusty
and right welbeloued Couſello^r S^r ffraunces
Knollys Knight our vichamberleyn."

Endorsed by Sir Francis "30. of october
1568. the 2. lett^r to vs."

ELIZABETH R.

Right trusty and welbeloved, and

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truſty and welbeloved we grete yow well. We have this daye ſene the lres of yow the vichamblaĩ to o^r ſecretory dated y^e 25. of this month, before recept wherof, vppō good occasions we comāndded our ſecretory to wryte to yow, that yow ſhuld have good regard to the chardg of y^t Quene, and that we thought it good that ſhe wer ſpedely brought furder into our realme, to avoyde y^e dañger of eſcaping. And now perceaving by your laſt lres, how doughtfull a matter it is to make a ſure accōpt of hir, having ſo mañy meanes whan ſhe ſhall be therto diſpoſed to eſcape frō thence into Scotland, We ar in dede more ernestly bent to admoniſh both yow y^e L. Scroope and yow o^r vichamblaĩ, to be very circūſpect in the charg comitted to yow, and to take ſome ſpedy ordre that ſuch nōbres of horſſmen as ſhe hath there

attendyng vppō hir being of Scotland,
may be spedely sent away, and that
she be not suffred to goo ovt of y^t
Castle w^tout your owne presencies
or at y^e lest allweise on of yow, and
that w^t such company of yours, as
she maye nether of hir self escape
frō yow, nor yet be taken from yow.
and nevertheless whylest yow shall be
thus vigilant, we wold have yow
well consider how she might spedely
be broght to Tvtbury castle, and to
provyde as mañy thyngs that shall be
thereto necessary as yow can, and of
such as yow cā not pvide, and yet
shallbe necessary, to advertise vs w^t
all spede, for if we thought yow cold
conveniently conduct hir to Tvtbury,
we wold have no tyme omitted.
And because yow shall both know
what cause we have to dovt hir
escaping, and y^t she may not thynk
any thyng yow shall doo to be strañg,
we assure yow y^t we ar credibly

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advertised ovt of Frañce y^t hir gretest frends ther doo make accompt secretly, that she shall abovt the begyning of this Novembre, be conveyed into scotland ageynst our will, and therw^t we doo joyne y^t which we also ar dūly informed from scotland y^t she hath very lately wrytten both to Argile and Huntly that they shall levy ther forcées, and come w^t them to y^e west borders pretending that she shall be pvt to libty by vs to goe into Scotland, whervvpon yow may well judge . . .¹ it is for our honor, and for mañy other¹ have good regard to hir, and therfor we can¹ thynk yow over circūspect herin, and if she shall fynd any offence herw^t, yow may planly saye y^t yow ar warned of an intention and practise

¹ These words are illegible owing to the edge of the MS. having been damaged.

of certen hir subiects tendyng to
abvse yow in the charg comitted to
yow, and so lookyng well to your
charg, yow maye w^t good words
answer hir and reque hir to be contēt
w^t your doyngs./ And so yow shall
assone as we maye here frō yow,
have our ordre to remove hir, wher-
by your care may be deminished, and
we also more free from the dovts we
have cause to cōceave./ Herin we
wish yow to vse as much secrecy as
yow maye, of o^r mistrust of hir, for
otherwise she may despatly attēpt y^t
w^c is not to be easily w^tstand.

Gyve at Hāptō Court y^e 30. of
octor 1568.

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16. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Knollys.*

The whole letter in Sir William Cecil's hand, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed by a clerk "To our trusty and right welbeloued Counsellor, s^r frañces Knollys Knight, our vichāberlaȝ."

Endorsed by Sir Francis ".7. nouemb^r. 1568. the Q. lett^r to me."

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and Welbeloued we grete yow well, we have sene your l^res wrytten the .2. of this month, by which yow make answer to our secretoryes l^res dated y^e 29. of octob^r. wherin because we perceave yow make some difficultees not only how yow shall remove y^e Quene from Bolton, but also how yow shall conveniently contynue hir ther above .3. weks and last how loth yow ar to take chardg of hir at Tvtbury, being a place strang^e to yow, as yow did also in other your l^res of the 31. to

our sayd secretery therof make mētion, we have thought good to lett yow vnderstand the same that both oʳ secretery was comāded to wryte to yow by vs, and that we our selve wrote to y^e L. scroope and yow by our own lres sent hence y^e. last 30. of octob. which yow cold not receave at y^e wryt̃g of these last dated y^e 29 .2. of this mōth./

We doo earnestly desyre to have y^t Quene so looked vnto there whylest she shall remaȳ at Bolton, as by suffrāce of hir nōbres of horřimē to attend vppō hir, she shuld not have comodite to escape. and wher yow cōonly wryte y^t yow cā not restrayne hir as we p^rscribe yow, except she shuld be kept as a p^rsonor we wold have hir so kept and ordred as nether she shuld escape, nor yet be reputed to be a p^rsonor for if yow will deminish hir trayne of horřimē which ar not necessary for hir, and will not

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lett hir ryde abroad but in your owne company, and those to be allweise in nōbre supior over hers and not to ryde farr abroad from y^e howse, but in cōvenient placēs to take y^e ayre, we thynk y^t nether she shuld counted to be kept as a prisioner, nor yet shuld if she wer disposed escape. And though she shuld mislyke of this mañer of restreynt yet we allow rather of hir fuerty w^t hir mislykyng than to avoyde hir mislykyng to be avyfed. And yet nev̄theless we wold have yow to make the grovnd of these your doings to come of advertisemēts gyven yow from y^e west borders, of y^e practisēes of certen in Scotland, to recover hir from your Custody as at more larg yow may perceave by our lres of y^e 30. wherein we did specially prescribe to yow y^t in nowise she shuld vnderstand of these directions to come from hēce./

As for hir removing to Tutbury at this present we ar inclyned to pavse thervvpon a whyle. thynkyng that wⁱⁿ a short tyme vppon the hearȳg of hir cause, we shall make some other resolution. and for y^t, we thynk wⁱⁿ 20. or 30. dayes to come to some fynall determination, we reque yow to contynew y^t payfull service which allredy yow have susteained to kepe hir there at Bolton for 20. or 25. dayes, and because we pceave y^t provisions for horssmeat grow to a decay yow may the rather, take occasion to deminish hir cūpany having horfs. for we sēe no reason why she shuld have any nōbre of horssēes there but for hir owne self and .3. or 4. more, confiderȳg y^e L. scroope and yow w^t your svants ar sufficient to wayte on hir whā she shall take y^e ayre./ In the meane tyme we assure yow we will omytt no good meanes to ease yow of y^t

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burden, which hastily now cā not be doone, vntill we have hard and sene y^e end of hir cause, wherein we meane not to spend maⁿy dayes, aft^r hir Com^{is}siō shall come, for which y^e Bishopp of Ross, and y^e L. Herrifs, have on thursday last sent hir f^vant Borthyck./

This daye y^e sayd B. and Herrifs have bene w^t vs, to notefy y^t y^e Q. of Scotts, hath had knolledg of o^r intentiō to remove hir to Tutbury. whervnto we answered, that we had not gyve any such direction, but it was lykly vppō such knolledg as yow had, of y^e practisēes intended in scotland to cōvey hir ovt of your Custody, some suspicion might be conceived by yow as thynkyng Tutbury in that respect a metar place. and so y^e Q. might thervppō so dowl. Nevertheless lyke as we had not directed hir to remove, so we did not fēe but it wer metar for hir to be at Tutbury, or some such

more cōvenient place than Bolton is this wyntar tyme, and so we left them dovtfull what shuld succede./

We allow very well of your lres lately wrytten to vs, and cā not but thȳk your advise gyven therin to vs, very good of it selff, and to pcede from on y^t meaneth syncerly towards our estate, assuryng yow that in this matter we intend to follow the advise of such Counsellors, as we pceave have most regard to provyde for our getnes and suerty. and becaūse we meane to have y^e opinion and allowāce of y^e more pt, we have by advise of o^r Counsell, sent for y^e gretar part of o^r Nobillite being of y^e degré of Erles to be here w^t vs./

We wold have yow assure y^e L. scroope y^t we meane not to be forgetfull of some cōvenient consideratiō of his svice./

Gyven vnd^r o^r Signett at Hamptō Court y^e vijth of Nou^b. 1568.

CICILLE.

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17. *Sir Francis Knollys to his Wife.*

In Sir Francis's own hand and endorsed by him "30 *decemb^r* 1568. *my lett^r to my Wyffe.*" Directed in another hand "To his very lovinge wyffe the ladie katherin knowllis."

Mr Secretarie informed me of your late fykenes, wherwth I was the more disqwyated bycause I feared that, hyr ma^{ties} vngratefull denyall off my comyng to the cowrt this christmas, added to the denyalle of o^r fute for Newelme & other mysconstruings of me & myne, wthowte any cvmfort at all to o^r necessitie (saving onely shals that haue no curnels), had ben some pvocation of your fykenes, whervppon my discontented mynde grewe to be so motche y^e more full frayght wth disqwyate, that in my last letter to the Q. ma^{tie} I was abowte (aft^r that I had wrytton fvmwhat playnly to hyr ma^{tie} in

hyr owne matters) to haue wrytton these wordes folowyng; that as towchyng myn owne particularitie, among all my greeffes off mynde, it was is not the leaſte to vnderſtand that my wyffe is readie to dye in diſcomfort & in myſerable ſtate towards hyr children even in your maties cowrte: But aft^r that I had wrytton thus motche in my copie, & that I was even readie to have writton it in the letter ſelffe, m^r Secretaries lett^r came to me ſygnefying that youe were well amended,¹ wherby I abſtayned from

¹ The amendment in Lady Knollys's health was only temporary. She died at Hampton Court on the 15th January, 1569, a fortnight after the date of this letter. She was buried in the Chapel of St. Edmund at Westminster Abbey. The following lines from her epitaph testify to her having been the mother of sixteen children:

"Illa tibi proles ſex et bis quinque marito
Protulit aequalis foemina maſque fuit."

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puttyng those wordes in my sayd lett^r: Nevertheles my hart is not vnburdened and how long it woll contayne I knoe not: althoe in the mean tyme it is some ease to me to vtter fvmwhat to youe that is an other my selffe in myn owne particular matters: But as, in tyme of you^r

Sir Francis lies at Rotherfield Greys, the place of his birth, where the monument erected to his memory by his second son, William Earl of Banbury, still remains in good preservation. Lady Knollys was a great favourite with the Queen, but, as Elizabeth was not in the habit of allowing her affections to stand in the way of her interests, Sir Francis's reiterated requests to be released from his irksome duty which kept him away from his family, were not listened to. It was not till after his wife's death that Elizabeth gave Sir Francis permission to leave as soon as he had assisted at Mary's removal to Tutbury. In Cecil's Diary is found the entry: "Febr. 3rd. Sir Francis Knolles came from the Scotts Quene at Tutbury, Mr. Henry Knolles went thither."

helthe, it may be a refreshyng to youe thus to breake o^r myndes together, so to arme you^r selffe agaynst sykenes, youe mvst make god you^r refuge, & calle vppon hym that these worldly sorowes oppresse youe not to y^e. hyndrance of you^r helthe: for god woll not leave vs, he woll provyde for vs: is the cowrt vnmete for vs, or have we not to mayntayne vs in the cowrte? Whye yet the cvntrye woll serve vs yf we abase o^r myndes to o^r habilitie: for althoe I am to prowde to lyve in the cowrte and to be abridged of cowntenance or lyvyng orderlye appertenant: so on the other syde to lyve in the cvntrie, I can hvmble my selffe wthowte shame to abase my cowntenance as lowe as my lyvyng, & to ymprynt in my children an example theroff to kepe theym from the gallowfe & alle worldly shames. I haue had a good

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wyll to serve hyr matie w¹
but in m^r secretaries absence in this
service I was to rvde & vndif¹
& synce I haue ben to favorable, &
alwayes of owld I am vncomform
. . . .¹ and some tyme intollerable
thoroe a foolyshe scrupulous con-
science that I can not make a nose
of waxe. Hyr matie saythe she trusts
me, and I beleewe she thinks me not
falce, Also hir matie saythe she loves
youe, and natūe pokes hyr ther-
vnto: But what followethe hereoff,
hyr matie hathe denyed vs o^r svte
that myght best have releevd vs
wth leeste charge & burden to hyr
selffe even in this trustie tyme, & by
reason of hir truste she putteth me
to more paynes, more carefull per-
ryls, & more tedious greeffes than
she dothe any other man, (but whan

¹ These words are incomplete owing to the
edges of the MS. having been damaged.

the Chawncyllorshipp of y^e dowchie
was fallen I was not truf¹ or
els I had no wytt to exequite it,
beyng so comodious an offyce, & yet
his wytt y^t hathe it or any o¹
wytt wold haue ben more troubled
wth my trust here, than my wytt
cov¹ ben wth that offyce).²
And for y^e owtward love that hyr
mat^{ie} bayres youe, she makes youe
often wepe for vnkyndnes to the
great danger of you^r helthe: So that
yf these be the onely frutes of you^r
loove & my truste, happye were we,
yf we were disgraced I from my trust &
youe from youer loove, y^t we myght
retyre vs by iust occasion to leade a
cuntry poore lyffe abased from o^r
cowrtly cowntenance: Whervnto I

¹ These words are incomplete, owing to the edges of the MS. having been damaged.

² The passage enclosed in brackets was added by Sir Francis, and written on the opposite page.

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thank god I am redie to prepare my selffe for my parte yf youe shall lyke theroff.

I haue wrytton of all myn owne matters to my klarkes, wheroff this bayrer is p̄vie. And nowe it semethe I can not be holden motche longer from youe: Wherefore vntyll oʳ metyng, I shall desyre youe to haue me in remembrance to my ladie Stafford, my ladie Cicille, mystres Blanche & mystres Dorithie et cetʳ. And thus wth most hartie comēdations, I betake youe & youʳs to gods most mercifull pvidence. Wth my remembrance to mystres Bessie Knollys¹ I haue sent hyr a newe mylled

¹ "My ladie Stafford" was either the wife of Sir Edward Stafford, or more probably Ursula, widow of Lord Stafford and daughter of Sir Richard Pole. As one of her daughters was called Dorothy, the "mystres Dorithie" most likely refers to her. "My ladie Cicille" was the wife of Sir William Cecil, afterwards

pece of gold to laye vpp in hyr
store boxe, & thankes for hyr glooves.
I trust youe haue not forgotten to
joyne my newyers gyfte wth you's &
to delyu'e it accordinglye.

from Bolton the laste of december
1568.

you'r louyng husband

F. KNOLLYS.

Lord Burleigh. "Myftres Blanche" was a daughter of Sir Thomas Appary (or ap Harry), alias Vaughan, who was connected with Cecil by marriage, and, according to Lodge's Illustrations, was appointed Comptroller of the Household and Master of the Court of Wards the year after Queen Elizabeth's accession. "Blanch Appary," as she is called in the list of Elizabeth's new year's gifts for 1574, given in Nichols's "Progresse of Elizabeth," was attached to the Queen's Household.

"Myftres Bessie knollys" was one of Sir Francis's own daughters. In the lists of the Queen's new year's gifts Elizabeth Knollys is mentioned as one of the Household to whom many of them were given over, till the year 1588, when she appears as Lady Layton, wife of Sir Thomas Layton, Captain of Guernsey.

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Sir Francis's death, he was appointed his father's executor, and thus through his descendants Sir Francis's papers, as well as those of his uncle Henry Knollys, have come into the possession of the present Sir William Knollys. Sir Francis's eldest daughter, Lettice Knollys, married 1, Walter Devereux, Earl of Effex, + 1576, 2, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, + 1588, and 3, Sir Christopher Blount, who was beheaded in 1601. The same fate was shared in the same year by her son Robert Devereux, Earl of Effex.

1. *Sir William Cecil to Sir Francis Knollys.*

In Cecil's own handwriting, but directed in a different hand: "To the right honorable S^r francis knolles knight one of the Queens ma^{ty} pvy counsell her highnes vicechamberleyn and threr of her chamber."

S^r. This beror hath tarryed Long

here for lack of power to gyve him direct answ. the Q. Ma^{ty} purposyng frō tyme to tyme to wryte to y^e scottish Quene and now in the end she will not, having also answered y^e L. Herris to such l^res as last cā frō y^t Quene and hir Ma^{ty} resolutiō is y^t she wold have y^t Quene remove to boltō Castell w^c she earnestly wisheth to be doone. And so lackyng lesure to wryte any more but my Comēd. both to yow and my good Lord Scroope I end amōgst carts this Tuesday mornyng 12. July. at Haward

1568.

Yours assuredly

W. CICILLE.

NOTE.—The spelling of the original MSS., including the use of capital letters, has been strictly followed throughout all these papers.

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2. *Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil.*

Rough draft written by a clerk, with corrections in Sir Francis's own hand (the latter printed in italics). Endorsed: "*.16. of Julye. 1568. my lett^r to m^r secretaris.*"

We receuid your lett^r of y^e .12. hereoff on Wensdaye night very late, and We arivid heare at bolton Castell wth this Q. yester night ane oure after sonne settinge, and since her deptur frome karlill hethervnto she hathe bene veriequiet, verie tractable, and voyd of displefant counnace. Althoe she semeth she woll not remove any furder into the realme wythout constraynt the w^{ch} removing woll easlier be done, yf it be taken in hand by bett^r parsonages than we are. Ther hathe bene no repaire vnto her by the way as might have bene lokte for, the w^{ch} repaire I suppose hathe bene abridgid by o^r sharpe dealinge wth one xpofo^r lasells cominge to karlill

out of yorkshier aboute .3. weks paste
of porpose to se this Q., and because
we vnderstode him to be not onelie
alewd practisar and arrogant papist,
but also that he had bene in disple-
sure afore time for practising wth
this Q., therfore after that he had
confessed that he came of purpose to
se the Q. dwellinge in yorksher, and
that he had bene in troble ~~afore~~
~~time for this Q. hyr fake or cause.~~
we declaring first vnto him that
no subiect of the Q. highnes
ought to hono^r an other prince wth
his p^rsence in form of visita^on or
welcoming the same, wthoute comif-
sion or conduction of some of his
superiors, we chose this ill man to
disgrace for an example in this sorte,
we appointed M^r morton to retorne
wth him to his Lodginge, and to ac-
companie him vntill he had made
him redie to ried wth spede, and had

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sene him oute of the gates home-wards agāi wthoute seing of this Q. as his intent was,

This howse apperithe to be verie stronge, verie fair, & verie statlie after tholde maner of buldinge, and is the highest wallid house that I have sene, and hathe but one entrance therinto, and halfe the number of M^r reads bande may better watche and ward the same then the hole number therof cold doe karlill castell whear M^r read and his soldiers, and M^r morton, and M^r wilford toke great pains & *my L. Scrope also was a late watcher*, the band was devidid into .5. pts so that the watch and ward cam about eu^ri fivthe night and eu^ri 5th day of the w^{ch} watch and ward we had .5. governors the first was M^r read and willm knowlls for his learninge accompanied him.

The 2^o. was M^r morton, third was M^r wilford, the 4th was baret M^r

reads livetenant, the .5.th was west his
aſcient berar averie ſufficient and
carefull man alſo, the Q. chamber at
karlill had a window looking oute
toward ſkotland, the barrs whearof
beinge filed aſunder oute of the ſame
ſhe might have bene lett downe, and
then ſhe had plain grownde before
her to paſſe into ſkotlande, But nere
vnto the ſame windowe we fownde
an old poſterne dore that was damp-
nid vp wth a rampier of earthe betwē
~~.2. walls. on the inner ſyde of .20 foot~~
broade and 30. foote depe *betwene*
.2. walles: ffor the comoditie of w^{ch}
poſterne for or ſalye to that win-
dowe, and wth redie watche & ward
~~to the ſame~~ we did cutt into that
ramper in forme of a ſtayre wth
atorninge about downe to the ſaid
poſterne and ſo openid the ſame, wth-
oute the w^{ch} device we cold not
have watchid & gardid this Q. there
ſo ſafelie as we did althoghe there

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was an other windowe of her chamb^r
for passing into ~~the towne oute of~~
~~the castell~~ an orchard wthin the
towne wall and so to have slipped
over the towne wall, *that* was also
verie dangerous, but these matters I
cann better tell yo^u at my retorne,
vpon a rewd plott that I have drawne
therof, Nowe if ye like well of o^r
removing of this Q. hether, then I
p^ry yo^u consider that yo^u cold assiste
me in backinge of vs to the achiving
of this enterprice that had so manie
dificulties *therin* is worthie of no
prays at all. But ~~because~~ *althoe* a
foolls bolt is *be* sone shott, ~~ye shall geve~~
~~me leave to feare, that no counterfeit~~
~~police of any regiment will achive~~
~~great enterprics nor continue longe~~
~~wthoute great prill,~~ *yet I dare not*
tell youe all that I thynk herein./
Nowe I truste yo^u will retorne me
home furthwth because I *see* no reason
nor grownd of my staying heare any

longer for this as towching the de-
fraying of the chardgs this klarke
being a sufficient, carefull, and honest
man.

Having his pporcon sett downe
carten ~~it w^{ch}~~ wolbe ptlie abridgid by
my deptyng hence will easlie dis-
chardge his duetie in that behalfe,
and wheras I do no good heare, I
may either serve ~~to fill a place~~ as a
scipher in a grame at the court, *I mean*
to occupie a place there, or I may be
dismissid to the cart w^{ch} is fitter for
me. 16. Julii. 1568. *post scripte. the*
charges of removing of this Q, hether
was somewhat the larger, bycause we
were dryven to byer .4. lytle carrs and
.20. carriage horses, & .16 .23. sadle
horses for byr women & men to byr
comoditie & satisfaction the w^{ch} was
well accomplisshed vppon the sodayn to
byr comoditie & satisfactio.

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3. *Sir Francis Knollys to his Wife.*

In Sir Francis's own handwriting and directed by him "*To his loving wyffe the ladie katryn knollys.*"

I am very forye to here that youe are fallen into a feverr, I wold to god I were so dispatched hence that I myght onely attend & care for your good recoverye: I trust youe shall shortly overcome this fever & recover good helthe agayne, for althoe in your helthe youe doe often forgett to p event fyknes by dve & precise order, yet when youe are fallen into fykenes, youe woll then (althoe it be late) observe very good order.

Bryggħm & the lyttle lackeye are cvm hether vnto me wth the two lyttle grey naggs, and sorryll wylford and the black geldyng & ~~4~~ payre of: Bryggħm tells me that Edward knollys is fycke of an agve, & y^t otherwyes youe wold haue sent hym hether to me, but yf he had come, I

doe not looke y^t he wold have vsed hym selffe halffe so well as wylliam knollys hathe done, for wth his cvrtesie & good discretion he hathe gotten here a very good opynyon of all sortes, among the w^{ch} nvmer the Q. grace here is one, whoe can discern a young mans towardnes very well, wth whom he hathe vttered his frenche tvnge often tymes, althoe it was longe or she had any speache wth hym. I haue ben dryven to many contentions wth this Q. before she wold remove from Carlylle hether, but yet she hathe that good nature that althoe she can not forbayre to vtter hyr stvmmack, so yet she is soone pacesied agayne, or rather she woll seeke reconciliation in pleasant sorte & maner: But nowe I pray youe help that I may be revoked and retorne agayne, for I haue lytle to doe here & I may be spared hence very well, I haue wrytton earnestly

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to m^r secretarie in this behalffe :
The great matt^r that I had to doe
is paste, w^{ch} was the removynge of
this Q. safely hethether : The w^{ch}
thyng, my L. Scroope saythe, never
a cownsayllor in ynglond wold haue
done but my selffe, beyng so wekely
backed thervnto as we haue ben.—
My L. Scroope wth the helpe of
kaptayn Reade & fyfye of his
soldears here remaynynge can kepe
hyr safely in this stronge howse ;
And yf hyr hyghnes woll remove
hyr furder into y^e realme, some
noble man wolbe appoynted thervnto
(as my L. of Shrewsbury was named)
for I am nowe discredited wth hyr,
for she fyndes that I had no sotte
awthoretie to remove hyr as I pre-
tended, as m^r Secretary can tell youe,
so y^t I am most vnfytt to deale any
furder. And thus wyfshyng you^r
good and comfortable recovery to
you^r owne satisfaction & myne, I

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shall comyt youe to god. from
Bolton kastyll the .29. of Julye,
1568.

your loving hvsband.
F. KNOLLYS.

I praye youe remember me to my
brother, wth thanks also for his lett^r,
desiryng hym to pardon my not
wrytyng presently to hym, synce I am
otherwaies tyred wth wrytyng in this
vnthankfull service./

4. *Robert Bestney and Francis Fryer
to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by Fryer and directed by him "To
the right honorable o^r synguler good M^r S^r.
Franncs knollys knyghte vycechamberleyn to
the Q. Ma^{ty}. and Trefourer of y^e Chamber
&c."

Endorsed by Sir Francis "29^e of Julye 1568.
my klerks lett^r to me."

It may please yo^r honor to be
advertyfed. That by virtue of the

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Q. ma^{ty} pryvie Seale bearinge date the xxiiijth of Julye procured by m^r Secretary we haue receyved the xxviiijth of the same of mr. Stoneley one of the Tellars of the scheque^r the some of ffyve houndrethe poundes to be vsed by yo^r hono^r and by yo^r appoyntemente for the defrayinge of the Quene of Scotts charges. We attended vpon m^r. Secretarye yesterday at his howse by Waltham for his order for the safe sendinge of the money vnto yo^u, whose plesure was y^t we shoulde shewe yo^u y^t his advice is y^t by some meanes yo^r hono^r doe practyse wth some marchanthe or Clothier of yorke or at wakefylde to delyver yo^u D[£] there, and vpon y^r retorne of yo^r bylle vnto vs to receyve yt ageyn at London at the howse of me. ffrancys ffryer. where yt dothe and shall remayne, tylle we here from yo^r hono^r whiche we looke

for wth spede. My Ladye god be thanked is in y^e waye of recoveringe, havinge in effecte altogether escaped her fyttē once or twyse. She is presentlye at m^r Stanleys of y^e mynte and hathe byn this vij or viij^{te} dayes paste. M^r Secretarye requyred vs to wryte his hartye comendacons vnto yo^u. He ys presentlye at his howse by waltham, where he hathe had iij or iiij^r shrewd fyttis of an agewe, but god be thanked nowe in good hope of amendemente. We sende vnto yo^r hono^r hereinclosed a quyttanncē to y^e whiche yt may please yo^u to subscribe yo^r name for the Receipte of the sayd D[£]. And thus wth o^r humble dewtyes vnto yo^r hono^r wecomytte yowe to Almightye god. From y^e Courte at Hatfylde the xxixth of Julye 1568./ Yo^r hono^r. humble s^rr^unts

Ro: BESTNEY. FRA: FFRYER.

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5. *The Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Knollys.*

In Leicester's own hand and directed by him "To my very frend S^r. franncs Knowells Knight vycechāb^rleyn to y^e Q. ma^{ty} & of her p^rwy counsell wth all hast. For her ma^{ty} affaires."

Endorsed by Sir Francis "9th. of august 1568. my L. of Leicester to me."

M^r Vycechamberleyn I have recy^or lēre in answ^r of myne touching that Q. furnyt^re vnto w^{ch} again her ma^{ty} hath comanded me to lett ye vnderstand she ys gladd my L. Scrope hath so honorably cared for the same for assurly as she hopeth matters wyll shortly grow to some end. Wherof what her determyⁿacon ys ye shall shortly more at length here frō her. Her ma^{ty} pleasure ys to haue the lytter retorned bycause that Q. never vs^eth any. Besyde her pleasure ys that ye cause firch to be made in that countrey

for the fayrest geldings ye can gett
and y^t ye provyde iij for that Q.
owē saddle or ij at least. And as
ye haue done so for the rest of her
women so make shift among yo^r
frends & gents there to borrow for
thē. For the other for the Q. self
she woll haue buye ij or iij for her.
This ys all for those matt^{rs} I had in
chardge to wryt. Y^e newes be
naught of conte Lodowyck. he ys
overthrowen but escaped in p^{er}son
Sō say the prince of orange ys in
the field wth a strong power. I pray
god he be though I dowbt yt. Thus
fare ye well, my la. yo^r wyfe ys
well agayn. but I fere her dyet and
order. in hast this vij of August.
removing day.

yo^r long¹ frend

R. LEYCESTER.

¹ This is probably only a contraction of
“loving.”

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6. *Sir Francis Knollys to the Earl of Leicester.*

Copy, written by a clerk, but endorsed in Sir Francis's own hand "12 of *Aguste. my Lre to my L. of leicester.*"

I thought to haue takin my Jernye towards Barwyke yesterdaye as I signified to yo^r L. Because yet I haue herd nothings of hir highnes contentation thearwth nether of yo^r L. advyce thearin & because my doings here have ben construed there otherwyse then I loked for: Thearfore I haue stayed that Jernye vntyll wylliam knollys & wylfords retorne, or vntyll I here furder in that behalfe.

Bycause this Q. hathe delight in huntynge, and for the satisfyinge of hyr dyet to hyr contentation, I haue takin vppon me to haue awthorytie to shoe hyr pastyme in hyr hyghnes parks & chafes hereabowtes to that

intent & purpose. And all the keepers hereabowtes haue obeyed thearvnto. And lately my L. of Northumberland hathe gyven specyall order for the obedience of the keepers w^{thin} hys rules accordynglye. And yesterdaye m^r Sare, a gentelman of good countenance havinge the ov^rsyght of all my L. of Northumberlandes rules in thes parties made this Q. fotche good spote of fayre cowrsynge in the chafe of Byfshopdale 4 miles hence at redd deere, that she confessed she never dyd see fayrer cowrses in hyr lyfe. We killed only 3 hynds, bycause that chafe is not replenished, and all the parks hereabowtes are also said to be decayed of game. And some saye the Lacke of allowance for wallynge & pallynge is sum cawse of y^e decaye of the game in y^e parks. The gretest and v^sualst huntinge that this Q. hitherto hathe hadd, hathe ben in my L.

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Scropes owne parke and comonlye
we hunte wth houndes.

Here is no preassinge to this howse
to se this Q. nether is there anye
pressinge to see hyr abroad, other-
wyse then of neyghbors in convenient
order.

And thus wth my humble comen-
dacions to yo^r L. I comytte the same
to god.

Ffrom Bolton Castell this thurf-
daye the 12th of August 1568.

yo^r L. to comawnde.

post-script. I mervayle I here not of
my revocation nether at
m^r secretaries hands nor
y^r L.

7. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope &
Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign
Manual. Directed "To o^r right trusty and
welbeloved the lorde Scroope warden of o^r

west marches towards Scotlande and to o' trustye and right welbeloved counfello' S' ffrauncs knolls knight o' vicechamblayne." Endorsed by one of Sir Francis's clerks "12. of Aguste 1568. the Q. Līe to me."

ELIZABETH R. By the Queene.

Right trusty and welbeloved and trusty and right well beloved we grete yo^u well. Fforasmuche as we haue at the lord Harriſſe being here with vs for the Queene of Scotts; accorded to take into o' ordre the sayd Queene's causes, and sending for certayne of most estimation being of hir adviſe parti to treate therevpon, and as we certaynely intende to make ſume good ende honorable for hir, reaſonable for them, and meete for quieting of that realme, and to funder the ſame haue deviſed to haue a ſurceance of all hoſtilitie on both partes, whereunto both the Queene by hir fundrie lres and the Earle of murrey by his, hath aſſentyd and made promys, yet we ar credibly

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informed, and haue some cause to gather the same more probable by such writings as you our vicechamberlaine lately sent to vs, by the commandment of the sayd Queene, that on the partie holding with the sayd Queene, there are great assemblies made of force, and determinations to procede against the Earle of murray and his party by armes and all manner acts of hostilitie, thereby seeking to ordre and ende the causes partially and by blood, which are committed to vs to ordre and ende indifferently without blood, wherein our honnor and reputation shall be much touched. And further we be certainly informed that a nombre of disordred loose men neare vpon our borders of the east and myddle marches, are daylye in armes, and, as they saye, are so commaunded to be by that Queene, who besydes theyr particular hostilitie which they vse

agaynst fuche as depende vppon the Earle of murrey, doo spoyle our subiects, and committ dayly acts of open hostilitie with a playne intention to make a kynde of warr, to thintent thereby to escape the answering by ordre of the lawe of the marches, fuche offences as allredy they haue committed, and ar bounde to make satisfaction: wee haue thought mete not to suffer these manner of procedings contrary to the Queenes promis and agreement, and contrary to all honnorable good meaning, hauing respect how favorably wee have delt with the sayd Queene in this hir distresse. and therefore as wee haue allredy writton vnto hir in this behalf, so wee wolde haue yo^u in o^r name to breake playnely with hir herein, and let hir knowe that feing wee haue entred into the ordering and ending of hir causes by quietnes at hir re-

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quest, and that the Earle of murray and his parte doo ceasse all hostilitie, and ar content to abyde our ordre, we cannot but fynde o^r hono^r muche touched herein to see hir party by gathering of force to seeke to avenge hir cause, whereof pcase they may allso mysse, and as it were thereby in the sight of the world to delude vs. And therefore yo^u shall assure hir, if hir party shall in this manner procede, wee knowe what wee have to doo to preserve our hono^r. And herevpon what so ever answer she shall make wherein wee may be abused, yf yo^u fynde that hir partie contynueth by hostilitie to invade the other party, being not thereto provoked, we will yo^u our warden of that west marches to repayre to our frontier, and there by all good pollicie and secret manner to procure as yo^u best can that suche as be of the Queenes parte vpon that fron-

tier and doo vse hostilitie agaynst the others may sharply tast of sume displeasures, and the contrary parte sele also somee suche favo^r as borders ar woont, whan they ar secretly wynked vppon, to doo. And if nede bee, for the better furderance hereof, you may also have conference with S^r John fforster to concurre herein with yo^r devises, to whome wee haue also writton in this behalf. and of yo^r doings and intentions herein wee wolde be spedely adv^rtised, for if wee shall be thus abused, wee meane that the Queene shall not have suche free conference wth hir partie, nor they haue suche free accesse in to our realme as hitherto they have had thereby to abuse vs. we sende vnto yo^u herewth an abstract of a lre sent from the m^rshall of Barwyk touching these adv^rtisemēts as he hath receyved, w^{ch} when yo^u shall have p^rved yo^u may shewe vnto the sayd

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Queene. Yeeven vnd^r o^r Signet at
o^r mano^r of Whaddon the xijth of
August the xth yere of o^r Reigne.

8. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis
Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign
Manual. Directed "To o^r trusty and right
welbeloved counsellor s^r frances knollys knight
o^r vichamberlein Treasorer of our chamber."
Endorsed by Sir Francis "y^e. 2. of September.
1568. the Q. highnes to me."

ELIZABETH R. By the Quene.

Trusty and right welbeloved coun-
fello^r we grete yo^u well. We have
seen yo^r lres of the xxixth of the last
moneth and such others as were
directed to vs from the Lords of
Scotland serving the Quene. And
by yours we do pceave the Quenes
ernest desire, that we shuld staye the
Erle of Murreys rigorous maner of
dealing in executing of the proces of
the late parliament, wherby it fe-

meth that fundry parsons dwelling nere Edenburgh will before the xiiijth of this moneth come vnto him and be sworne to his party, if we do not spedely pvide remedy for the same. Wherefore we have thought mete spedely to addresse o^r lres vnto the said Erle of Murrey, and likewise to advertise the Lords of Scotland w^{ch} now did write vnto vs of our intention. And because you shall well pceave what we have written, we have given order that the copies of the said lres shalbe herwth dispatched, w^{ch} when you have well considered, we wold have you to impart the contents therof to the Quene of Scots, Or if you think good to lett her see the copies of the same lres And because her disposi^{con} herin may be satiffied, we do send the lres directed to the Erle of Murrey to yo^r hands to be sent to the said Erle by the west borders as she shall direct, orells to

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the Lord Hunsden¹ or govern^r of Barwick to be by him sent to the said Erle. According whervnto we require yo^u to pcede, and therof to advertise vs. And likewise to lett vs vnderstand the Quenes determination whōm she will appoint comiss^r. . . .² for hir, and whith^r they may not be at york the² of this moneth, and if it might be soner we w² have ben the gladder. And before these late new troubles ch² we found not but the Erle of Murrey was content to have had the cause hard in the begiñing of this moneth. And now as we shall heare answer from that Quene for hir comissioners, and from the Erle of Murrey, So will we order ours to be at york, w^{ch} we trust may be by the end of this

¹ Lord Hunsden was the brother of Sir Francis's wife.

² These words are incomplete, owing to the edge of the MS. having been damaged.

moneth or shortly after. We have of late receaved two lres from the Quene of Scotts, the one was written before Borthick returned thither, the other came this morning w^t the lres from the Lords of Scotland; and because these or lres w^{ch} we now write are answers to the materiall contents therof, you shall pray the Quene to find no lack in that we do not make answer to her self by any lre of our owne, assuring hir that in this or progress we are so impeached w^t or travell, that we could not have leasure therto, But vpon the next occasion we will write, and you may adde that of all labors we most mislike to write, for fuerly we never almost write any lres to any prince, and mo we have written to hir sence she came into or realme, than ever we did sence or reigne to all Princes christined, yea to all parsons extant.

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Where in hir lres she femeth that the reports made to vs of wrongs comitted by hir obedient subiects vpon ours are not to be pved; We will cause inquirye to be truly made, So as she shalbe particulerly aduertised of that w^{ch} shalbe to vs informed.

You shall also require hir to remēber of what importance it may be to this hir cause if the Duke bring any forain force w^t him into Scotland for we shall not beare therwth, and so we have always from the begining declared o^r determination. geuen vnder o^r Signet at o^r manor of Ewelme the second of September 1568 the xth yere of o^r reigne.

9. *The Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by Leicester himself, but directed in a different hand "To my verye frend S^r.

Francis knowles knyght vizchamberleyn to the Quenes ma^{ty} gve this."

Endorsed by Sir Francis ".3. of September .1568. my L. of Lescyter to me."

Mr vycechamberleyn, yo^u must hold me excused y^t I haue not answered yo^r leſres er this tyme—ptely I dowbt not but yo^u vnderstand I had occasion to be at my howse at Kenelworth and y^t tyme spent and almost x or xij days in such sort as I could not convenyently wryte, and ptly synse hauing lytle leas hur I pceaue by m^r secretery y^t he had supplied my place in adv^tying yo^u that w^c I shuld haue done, & therfore I took y^t longer tyme w^a hauing this conveyent messenger I thought to deferre no longer, lest yo^u might think me all to gether forgetfull. And touching the matter yo^u wroght of her ma^{ty} ys loth to send any horses for that Q. hauing verry fewe for her owē saddel & the rest nothing worth or met for her to send. But

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ys still of mynd that ther may be better provyded among the gentlemen of y^t country, w^c yf yt cannott be I pray yo^u fend word that her mat^e may vnderstand the same & I wyll do what I can though hetherto I could not bring this to passe. We hear no stir of newes here. her mat^e ys well & all yo^r ffrends her. So I comytt yo^u to god & bid yo^u fare well in hast at Wallingford this 3 of September.

Yo^r assured frend

R. LEYCESTER.

10. *Sir Francis Knollys to the Earl of Leiceſter.*

Rough draft written by a clerk with corrections in Sir Francis's own handwriting, (the latter printed in italics). Endorſed: ".12. of September .1568. my lett^r to my L. of Leſcyter."

I have recevid yo^r L. *verye gentill* curteys L^re of the .3. of this monthe, and pceave *also* therbye yo^r L. lacke

of conuenient store of horses to be
sparid ~~for am~~ for this Q. saddle,
And that her highnes dothe thinke
that better pvision mighte be made
heare. by me amongs the gentillmen
of this contrey to serue that torn,
~~But furelio my L. so that~~ I am vtterlie
vnhablle to gett suche horses ~~for any~~
~~mony in this contrey in these partes,~~
y^t are conuenient, and nowe we stand
in worse case then eu^r we did, for
one horse of myne, and an other of
her owne that of late this Q. hathe
moſte ~~v-ridden vpon~~ *used for hyr*
owne saddle are nowe become thone
ficke, and thother lame, wherefore
~~we have nowe more nede of yo^r L.~~
~~helpe in this behalfe,~~ And furelio I
~~can neither see nor heare of any~~
~~conuenient horses in this contrey~~
~~that are to be had for monie, and~~
~~fitt to be p^rſetid frome her highnes~~
~~accordinglie,~~ Whearfore I ſhall de-
ſiere yo^r L. *good* to have ſome good

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consideratō hearof that her highnes
by. yo^r L. advice and order may
spedilier relife this neseffetic heare
~~for this contrey is the barreneste of~~
~~good horses that ever I came in,~~
And But surely my L. as this
contrey ~~owt part of yorkshere~~ is barren,
mowntanous, and wild to loke on,
so the ge gentillmen hearabouts are
but Ruede and symple furnished.
*And thus comēdyng y^e discharge of
my service here so tediously contynued to
your L. good word. I shall et cet .12.
of september .1568.*

11. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis
Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To our trustie and right welbeloued counsaile S^r frances knolles knight our vicechamberling & &c." Endorsed by Sir Francis ".2. of october. 1568. my L. the Q. byghnes lett^r to me."

ELIZABETH R. By the Queene.

Trustie and right welbelouid we greete you well. Forasmuche as we finde by sondry Arguments, that the Queene there, of late hath much increased her boldnes, and that her frends allso abrode vse many deuises to exorte her vp to encountre vs and the quietnes of o^r Estate; and that at this tyme whilest her Cause is to be harde, she will omitt no meanes to recouer fauo^r and allowance amongst suche of o^r Subiects, as are to be easely drawn to her; We think it very necessary, that you vse

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the more circumspection in prohibiting the Accessse, that seemith to vs is suffred for suche of our Subiects to com to her presence, as ought to haue nothing to doo w^t her: And therin you shall doo well w^tout noti- fieng any thing to her selfe or to hers, to lett all other English men learne how it shall not becom any of them but suche as necessarily are appoynted by you to wayte vpon the seruice of her, to resorte to that place, or to com into her sight at any tyme. And though we meane not that she shuld finde her selfe to be heerby kepte as a prisonner, yet truly we see suche perill as weare not to be recouered, if a free accessse shall be pmitted for all parsons to com and speake w^t her, or to com into her presence, where she may vse her speeches to them. And considering how earnest yo^r selfe allwais hath bene w^t vs (w^{ch} surely we see no

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cause to disallowe) that she shulde not be any wise exalted in credit or estimation: We maruaile that you doo not more restrayne resorte of numbers to her presence; w^{ch} wolde be forseene indirectly w^tout opening the same to her selfe. And so we earnestly require you to see don, And that specially now whilest her Cause shall be harde; for we are credibly enfourmed that she is counfailed to sett a greate countenance vpon her maters, and so therby to gayne more credit, than is meete she shuld haue, excepte she had better deseruid towards God and the worlde. Yeven vnder o^r Signet at o^r Castle of windfor the ij^{de} daie of october .1568. the xth yeere of o^r Raigne.

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12. *Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil.*

Copy, written by a clerk, but endorsed in Sir Francis's own hand: "*.9. of October .1568. my letter to m^r Secretarie.*" The original, as mentioned by Froude, *History of England*, vol. ix. page 286, is among the MSS. Queen of Scots, Rolls House.

My L. grace of Norfolks sendinge for me to bolton to attende uppō him here thurfdaye last, I made my re-
pare hether accordyngly meninge to
staye here vntyll mondaye next: As
towching y^e matters of the comiſſyon
y^t his grace and the rest haue from
hyr highnes, hys grace hathe vmparted
vnto me of all things thervnto ap-
pertayninge, & what hathe hetherto
passed, and althoe the matters be to
wayghtie, for my weake capassitie to
presume to vtter any opinion of myn
owne therof: yet I fe that my L.
herrys for his partye laboreth a re-
confiliation to be had wth howte the

extremytie of odious accusacions, my L. Ledington also saythe to me that he wold wyshe these matters to be eanded in dulce maner, so that it might be done wth safetie: of the rest you can conceyve by the advertisments & wrytings sent vp by o^r comyffioners.

I am fuer m^r Morby is aryved at the Cowrt wth doct^r Marshall (yf god hath p^spered his Jernye) by this tyme. And I suppose you maye easylie make doct^r marshall preache at Pawle crosse to yo^r contenta^on, and great dislykinge of the papists.

I meane to take the 300[£] wth me to Bolton that m^r Sadler offereth to deliuer vnto me.

And thus wth most harty comendations, I shall comyt you to god. ffrō yorke the .9th. of October .1568.

post script. After I had clofed this letter I receyved hir highnes letter

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of the .2. and yours of the .4th.
hearof, that had ben at Bolton &
fo wear retorned hether to me.
I haue answered the matter of hir
highnes letter I trust sufficiently
to hir contentaçon, in my lre to
you of the .4th. hereof, yet this
admonition I woll not forgett.
I am glad to here by you that hir
highnes is wakened to loke to hir
fuertie, and god I trust will defend
hir from all wyked spirites. My
L. Herris I take a ptestant tem-
porall onely. I thank you for yo^r
newes as well fro beyond the seas,
as of the helthie estate of my
wyfes.

13. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis
Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To o' trusty and right welbeloved counsaillor S' francs knollys knight o' vichamberlein," with the addition in Sir William Cecil's hand "to be sent sub york to bolton
W. CECILLE."

Endorsed by Sir Francis ".16. Octobr. 1568.
the Q. lett' to me."

ELIZABETH R. By the Quene.

Trusty and right welbeloued Counfello' we grete yow well. We haue of late receaued kowledg from our Comissioners at York, in what fort the Quene of Scotts Comissioners there haue in her name charged the other party, and how they haue answered the same: Whervpon we find such difficulty how to direct our Comissioners by way of writing vnto them, as we haue thought it better for the expedition of the cause, to haue one of our Comissioners to

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come vpp to vs, and one of ether side also of the other parties, w^t whom we meane by way of speche so to treate and informe our self, as therby we shall other ways and more easely growe to some good resolution, than we see it possible to be don by way of writing vnto our Comissioners. For which purpose at this present we haue written to that entent to our Comissioners, And therof ment at this present time to haue written to the Quene our good sister to thend she might vnderstand our good meaning: But hauing our right hand by meanes of riding this present day so strayned, as we can not w^tout great payne write only our name, We haue caused our Secretery to write this lre vnto yow, willing yow to impart this matter vnto hir, and to shew hir the cause why we write not at this tyme, assuring her that we

meane to expedite this matter vpon the coming of the parties hither as speedely as any wise the matter will suffer.

Yow may also require the said Quene to beare w^t vs, in that we haue not by speciall writing sent answer to hir late l^{res}, for that the matters therein conteyned were before tyme answered, And furder also hir said seruāt Beton had at his access to vs w^t the said l^{res} our mind for answer to the content of hir said l^{res}. Yeuen vnder our Signet at our Castle of windfor the xvjth of October 1568 the xth yere of our Reigne.

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14. *Sir William Cecil to Sir Francis Knollys.*

In Cecil's own hand, but directed by a clerk
"To the right hono^rable S^r Frances knolles
knight her ma^t vicechamblain, and of her
pruie counsell &c^r." 29

Endorsed by Sir Francis "30 *2266f*. 1568.
nt^r secretaris to me."

S^r /. this frydaye late in y^e night
I being at my house at westm^r re-
ceaved your lre of y^e 25. by which
yow doo very wisely remēbre how
pilloofs it may be if y^e Q. of Scotts
shuld smell of any hardnes towards
hir, les she wold scape from yow of
w^c matter I have wrytten by y^e Q.
Ma^t Cōmādmēt .2. dayes past as I
dovt not but yow have befor this
tyme pceaved. And therfor lyke
as I dovnt not but yow will have
care, so will I at my retorn to y^e Court
pcure as much meane as I cā. and
in y^e meane tyme I thynk good y^t
w^t all spede yow doo answer vs, how

Queen of Scots. 49

she might be cōducted to Tutbury
wher I see hir Ma^{ty} will have hir
and for y^t purpoose on is sent thyther
to make p^{ro}visiō of wyne beare and
woode./ and for other thȳgs we must
lern frō yow what is of necessitie to
be had before she can remove./

and so I end being almost slepyg.
29 octob^r. 1568

Yours assuredly
W. CICILLE.

15. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope
& Sir Francis Knollys.*

The whole letter in Sir William Cecil's
hand, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Di-
rected by a clerk "To our Right and wel-
beloued the Lord Scrope warden of our
marches anempst Scotland, and our Trusty
and right welbeloued Coūfello^r S^r ffrances
Knollys Knight our vichamberleyn."

Endorsed by Sir Francis "30. of october
1568. the Q. lett^r to vs."

ELIZABETH R.

Right trusty and welbeloved, and

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truſty and welbeloved we grete yow well. We have this daye ſene the lres of yow the vichamblay to oꝝ ſecretory dated y^e 25. of this month, before recept wherof, vppō good occasions we comānded our ſecretory to wryte to yow, that yow ſhuld have good regard to the chardg of y^t Quene, and that we thought it good that ſhe wer ſpedely brought furder into our realme, to avoyde y^e dañger of eſcaping. And now perceiving by your laſt lres, how doughtfull a matter it is to make a ſure accōpt of hir, having ſo mañy meanes whan ſhe ſhall be therto diſpoſed to eſcape frō thence into Scotland, We ar in dede more ernestly bent to admoniſh both yow y^e L. Scroope and yow oꝝ vichamblay, to be very circūſpect in the charg comitted to yow, and to take ſome ſpedy ordre that ſuch nōbres of horſſmen as ſhe hath there

attendyng vppō hir being of Scotland,
may be spedely sent away, and that
she be not suffred to goo ovt of y^t
Castle w^tout your owne presencies
or at y^e lest allweise on of yow, and
that w^t such company of yours, as
she maye nether of hir self escape
frō yow, nor yet be taken from yow.
and nevertheless whylest yow shall be
thus vigilant, we wold have yow
well consider how she might spedely
be broght to Tvtbury castle, and to
provyde as mañy thyngs that shall be
therto necessary as yow can, and of
such as yow cā not pvide, and yet
shallbe necessary, to advertise vs w^t
all spede, for if we thought yow cold
conveniently conduct hir to Tvtbury,
we wold have no tyme omitted.
And because yow shall both know
what cause we have to dovt hir
escaping, and y^t she may not thynk
any thyng yow shall doo to be strañg,
we assure yow y^t we ar credibly

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advertised ovt of Frañce y^t hir greteft frends ther doo make accompt secretly, that she shall about the begyning of this Novembre, be conveyed into scotland ageynft our will, and therw^t we doo joyne y^t which we also ar dūly informed from scotland y^t she hath very lately wrytten both to Argile and Huntly that they shall levy ther forcès, and come w^t them to y^c west borders pretending that she shall be pvt to liſty by vs to goe into Scotland, whervvpon yow may well judge . . .¹ it is for our honor, and for mañy other¹ have good regard to hir, and therfor we can¹ thynk yow over circūſpect herin, and if she shall fynd any offence herw^t, yow may planly ſaye y^t yow ar warned of an intention and praçtiſe

¹ These words are illegible owing to the edge of the MS. having been damaged.

of certen hir subiects tendyng to
abvse yow in the charg comitted to
yow, and so lookyng well to your
charg, yow maye w^t good words
answer hir and reqre hir to be contēt
w^t your doyngs./ And so yow shall
assone as we maye here frō yow,
have our ordre to remove hir, wher-
by your care may be deminished, and
we also more free from the dovts we
have cause to cōceave./ Herin we
wish yow to vse as much secrecy as
yow maye, of o^r mistrust of hir, for
otherwise she may despatly attēpt y^t
w^c is not to be easily w^tstand.

Gyve at Hāptō Court y^e 30. of
octob 1568.

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16. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Knollys.*

The whole letter in Sir William Cecil's hand, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed by a clerk "To our trusty and right welbeloued Counsellor, s^r frañces Knollys Knight, our vichäberlay."

Endorsed by Sir Francis ".7. nouemb^r. 1568. the Q. lett^r to me."

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and Welbeloued we grete yow well, we have sene your l^{res} wrytten the .2. of this month, by which yow make answer to our secretoryes l^{res} dated y^e 29. of octob. wherein because we perceave yow make some difficultees not only how yow shall remove y^t Quene from Bolton, but also how yow shall conveniently contynue hir ther above .3. weks and last how loth yow ar to take chardg of hir at Tvtbury, being a place strang^e to yow, as yow did also in other your l^{res} of the 31. to

our sayd secretery therof make mētion, we have thought good to lett yow vnderstand the same that both oʳ secretery was comāded to wryte to yow by vs, and that we our selve wrote to y^e L. scroope and yow by our own lres sent hence y^e. last 30. of octob^r. which yow cold not receave at y^e wryt̄yng of these last dated y^e 29. 2. of this mōth./

We doo earnestly desyre to have y^t Quene so looked vnto there whylest she shall remaȳ at Bolton, as by suffrāce of hir nōbres of horssmē to attend vppō hir, she shuld not have comōdite to escape. and wher yow cōonly wryte y^t yow cā not restrayne hir as we p^rscribe yow, except she shuld be kept as a p^rsonor we wold have hir so kept and ordred as nether she shuld escape, nor yet be reputed to be a p^rsonor for if yow will deminish hir trayne of horssmē which ar not necessary for hir, and will not

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lett hir ryde abroad but in your owne company, and those to be allweise in nōbre supior over hirs and not to ryde farr abroad from y^e howse, but in cōvenient placēs to take y^e ayre, we thynk y^t nether she shuld counted to be kept as a prisonor, nor yet shuld if she wer disposed escape. And though she shuld mislyke of this māner of restreynt yet we allow rather of hir suerty w^t hir mislykyng than to avoyde hir mislykyng to be abvsed. And yet nev̄theless we wold have yow to make the grovnd of these your doings to come of advertisemēts gyven yow from y^e west borders, of y^e practisēes of certen in Scotland, to recover hir from your Custody as at more larg yow may perceave by our l^{res} of y^e 30. wherin we did specially prescribe to yow y^t in nowise she shuld vnderstand of these directions to come from hēce./

As for hir removing to Tutbury at this present we ar inclyned to payse thervppon a whyle. thynkyng that w^tin a short tyme vppon the hear̄yng of hir cause, we shall make some other resolution. and for y^t, we thynk w^tin 20. or 30. dayes to come to some fynall determination, we requre yow to contynew y^t payfull service which allredy yow have sustained to kepe hir there at Bolton for 20. or 25. dayes, and because we pceave y^t provisions for horssmeat grow to a decay yow may the rather, take occasion to deminish hir cūpany having horrs. for we see no reason why she shuld have any nōbre of horsses there but for hir owne self and .3. or 4. more, confideryng y^e L. scroope and yow w^t your fvaunts ar sufficient to wayte on hir whā she shall take y^e ayre./ In the meane tyme we assure yow we will omytt no good meanes to ease yow of y^t

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burden, which hastily now cā not be doone, vntill we have hard and sene y^e end of hir cause, wherein we meane not to spend maⁿy dayes, aft^r hir Co^mmissiō shall come, for which y^e Bishopp of Ross, and y^e L. Herrifs, have on thursday last sent hir f^vant Borthyck./

This daye y^e sayd B. and Herrifs have bene w^t vs, to notefy y^t y^e Q. of Scotts, hath had knolledg of o^r intentiō to remove hir to Tvtbury. whervnto we answered, that we had not gyve any such direction, but it was lykly vppō such knolledg as yow had, of y^e practisēes intended in scotland to cōvey hir ovt of your Custody, some suspicion might be conceaved by yow as thynkyng Tutbury in that respect a metar place. and so y^e Q. might thervppō so dowl. Nevertheleis lyke as we had not directed hir to remove, so we did not fēe but it wer metar for hir to be at Tutbury, or some such

more cōvenient place than Bolton is this wyntar tyme, and so we left them dovtfull what shuld succede./

We allow very well of your lres lately wrytten to vs, and cā not but thȳk your advise gyven therin to vs, very good of it selff, and to pcede from on y^e meaneth syncerly towards our estate, assuryng yow that in this matter we intend to follow the advise of such Counsellors, as we pceave have most regard to provyde for our getnes and suerty. and becaūse we meane to have y^e opinion and allowāce of y^e more pt, we have by advise of o^r Counsell, sent for y^e gretar part of o^r Nobillite being of y^e degreē of Erles to be here w^t vs./

We wold have yow assure y^e L. scroope y^t we meane not to be forgetfull of some cōvenient consideratiō of his fvice./

Gyven vnd^r o^r Signett at Hamptō Court y^e vijth of Nou^b. 1568.

CICILLE.

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17. *Sir Francis Knollys to his Wife.*

In Sir Francis's own hand and endorsed by him "30 decembr 1568. my lett^r to my Wyffe." Directed in another hand "To his very lovinge wyffe the ladie katherin knowllis."

Mr Secretarie informed me of your late fykenes, wherwth I was the more disqwyated bycause I feared that, hyr mat^{ies} vngratefull denyall off my comyng to the cowrt this christmas, added to the denyalle of o^r svte for Newelme & other mysconstruings of me & myne, wthowte any cvmfort at all to o^r necessitie (saving onely shals that haue no curnels), had ben some pvocation of your fykenes, whervppon my discontented mynde grewe to be so motche y^e more full frayght wth disqwyate, that in my last letter to the Q. mat^{ie} I was abowte (aft^r that I had wrytton fvmwhat playnly to hyr mat^{ie} in

hyr owne matters) to haue wrytton these wordes folowyng; ~~that~~ as towchyng myn owne particularitie, among all my greeffes off mynde, it ~~was~~ is not the leaſte to vnderſtand that my wyffe is readie to dye in diſcomfort & in myſerable ſtate towards hyr children even in you^r ma^{ties} cowrte: But aſt^r that I had wrytton thus motche in my copie, & that I was even readie to have writton it in the letter ſelffe, m^r Secretaries lett^r came to me ſygnefying that youe were well amended,¹ wherby I abſtayned from

¹ The amendment in Lady Knollys's health was only temporary. She died at Hampton Court on the 15th January, 1569, a fortnight after the date of this letter. She was buried in the Chapel of St. Edmund at Weſtminſter Abbey. The following lines from her epitaph teſtify to her having been the mother of ſixteen children:

“ Illa tibi proles ſex et bis quinque marito
Protulit aequalis foemina maſque fuit.”

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puttyng those wordes in my sayd lett^r: Nevertheles my hart is not vnburdened and how long it woll contayne I knoe not: althoe in the mean tyme it is some ease to me to vtter fvmwhat to youe that is an other my selffe in myn owne particular matters: But as, in tyme of you^r

Sir Francis lies at Rotherfield Greys, the place of his birth, where the monument erected to his memory by his second son, William Earl of Banbury, still remains in good preservation. Lady Knollys was a great favourite with the Queen, but, as Elizabeth was not in the habit of allowing her affections to stand in the way of her interests, Sir Francis's reiterated requests to be released from his irksome duty which kept him away from his family, were not listened to. It was not till after his wife's death that Elizabeth gave Sir Francis permission to leave as soon as he had assisted at Mary's removal to Tutbury. In Cecil's Diary is found the entry: "Febr. 3rd. Sir Francis Knolles came from the Scotts Quene at Tutbury, Mr. Henry Knolles went thither."

helthe, it may be a refreshyng to youe thus to breake o^r myndes together, so to arme you^r selffe agaynst sykenes, youe mvst make god you^r refuge, & calle vpon hym that these worldly sorowes oppresse youe not to y^e. hyndrance of you^r helthe: for god woll not leave vs, he woll provyde for vs: is the cowrt vnmete for vs, or have we not to mayntayne vs in the cowrte? Whye yet the cvntrye woll serve vs yf we abase o^r myndes to o^r habilitie: for althoe I am to prowde to lyve in the cowrte and to be abridged of cowntenance or lyvyng orderlye appertenant: so on the other syde to lyve in the cvntrie, I can hvmble my selffe wthowte shame to abase my cowntenance as lowe as my lyvyng, & to ymprynt in my children an example theroff to kepe theym from the gallowse & alle worldly shames. I haue had a good

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wyll to serue hyr matie w¹
but in m^r secretaries absence in this
service I was to ryde & vndif¹
& synce I haue ben to favorable, &
alwayes of owld I am vncomform
. . . .¹ and some tyme intollerable
thoroe a foolyshe scrupulous con-
science that I can not make a nose
of waxe. Hyr matie saythe she trusts
me, and I beleewe she thinks me not
falte, Also hir matie saythe she loves
youe, and natue pokes hyr ther-
vnto: But what followethe hereoff,
hyr matie hathe denyed vs o^r svte
that myght best have releevd vs
wth leeste charge & burden to hyr
selfe even in this trustie tyme, & by
reason of hir truste she putteth me
to more paynes, more carefull per-
ryls, & more tedious greeffes than
she dothe any other man, (but whan

¹ These words are incomplete owing to the
edges of the MS. having been damaged.

the Chawncyllorshipp of y^e dowchie
was fallen I was not truf¹ or
els I had no wytt to exequite it,
beyng so comodious an offyce, & yet
his wytt y^t hathe it or any o¹
wytt wold haue ben more troubled
wth my trust here, than my wytt
cov¹ ben wth that offyce).²
And for y^e owtward love that hyr
matie bayres youe, she makes youe
often wepe for vnkyndnes to the
great danger of you^r helthe: So that
yf these be the onely frutes of you^r
loove & my truste, happye were we,
yf we were disgraced I from my trust &
youe from youer loove, y^t we myght
retyre vs by iust occasion to leade a
cuntry poore lyffe abased from o^r
cowrtly cowntenance: Whervnto I

¹ These words are incomplete, owing to the edges of the MS. having been damaged.

² The passage enclosed in brackets was added by Sir Francis, and written on the opposite page.

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thank god I am redie to prepare my selffe for my parte yf youe shall lyke theroff.

I haue wrytton of all myn owne matters to my klarkes, wheroff this bayrer is p̄vie. And nowe it semethe I can not be holden motche longer from youe: Wherefore vntyll oʒ metyng, I shall desyre youe to haue me in remembrance to my ladie Stafford, my ladie Cicille, mystres Blanche & mystres Dorithie et cetʳ. And thus wth most hartie comēdations, I betake youe & youʳs to gods most mercifull p̄vidence. Wth my remembrance to mystres Bessē Knollys¹ I haue sent hyr a newe mylled

¹ "My ladie Stafford" was either the wife of Sir Edward Stafford, or more probably Urfula, widow of Lord Stafford and daughter of Sir Richard Pole. As one of her daughters was called Dorothy, the "mystres Dorithie" most likely refers to her. "My ladie Cicille" was the wife of Sir William Cecil, afterwards

pece of gold to laye vpp in hyr
store boxe, & thankes for hyr glooves.
I trust youe haue not forgotten to
joyne my newyers gyfte wth you's &
to delyu'e it accordinglye.

from Bolton the lasfe of december
1568.

you'r louyng husband

F. KNOLLYS.

Lord Burleigh. "Myftres Blanche" was a daughter of Sir Thomas Appary (or ap Harry), alias Vaughan, who was connected with Cecil by marriage, and, according to Lodge's Illustrations, was appointed Comptroller of the Household and Master of the Court of Wards the year after Queen Elizabeth's accession. "Blanch Appary," as she is called in the list of Elizabeth's new year's gifts for 1574, given in Nichols's "Progresses of Elizabeth," was attached to the Queen's Household.

"Myftres Bessie knollys" was one of Sir Francis's own daughters. In the lists of the Queen's new year's gifts Elizabeth Knollys is mentioned as one of the Household to whom many of them were given over, till the year 1588, when she appears as Lady Layton, wife of Sir Thomas Layton, Captain of Guernsey.

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18. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope & Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To o' right trusty & welbelouid the Lord Scrope, warden of o' west marches towards Scotland, and to our trusty and rightwelbelouid Counselle' sir francis knolles knight, o' vicechamblain, and thresorer of o' chambre." Endorsed by Sir Francis ".20.^{mo} Januarii .1568.¹ y^e Q. lett' to us."

ELIZABETH R.

Right trustye and right welbeloved, and r. trusty and welbeloved counsellor we grete yow well. forasmuch as we ar very credibly assured that the place there wher our sistar the Quene of Scotts is at Bolton, is now at this season of the yere so incomodioose not onely by great coldnes for the person of o' fayd sistar, but also by y^e lack of nedefull victell

¹ According to the new style this and the following three letters belong to the year 1569.

for hir and yow there, not in reason to be releved or remedied, vntill the season of Sommer shall bring furth new fructs of the erth, we have determined that yow twoo shall furthw^t bring and conduct hir in all good fort as the tyme maye suffer it, to our howse of Tutbury in the Rule of o^r right trusty and right welbeloved Coosyn the Erle of Shrewsbury, and to that end we have written our l^{ie} to the sayd Quene, which at tyme convenient yow shall delyver to hir, and declare this our meaning to hir, which being grownded vppon such a necessite not remediable, she must not mislyke nor gyve any delaye therto, and in dede she ought the more to allow hereof, for that she shall be by this meane neror to vs a great deale, and so as matters may fall owt, if the lack shall not be in hir, she maye have more redye oportvnite to come to our ~~ft~~ selve as

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she hath requyred. and how so ever she may by sinister counsell moved to seke herin delaye, we will and chardg yow not to yeld therto but in dede to bring hir from thence to Tutbury for we have so determyned knowing what is metar for hir to doo than any other that shall perswade hir to y^e contrary and if yow shall fynd any of hers so avdacioose to w^tstand by there perswasions this o^r determination whan they shalbe th^of by yow advertised, yow shall remove them from hir, and cause them to be stayed savely in some other placees vntill o^r pleasure be furder knowne, and neverthelefs in the meane tyme forbear not, to remove the Quene as we have ordred. And because yow the Lord Scroope ar ther the owner of land and have therby and in other respects of your degre and place being on of o^r Counsell in those North parties,

have more comodite to comānd and direct in that Countrey and in the places mete for hir to passe by in this hir removing from your howse to Tutbury We requyre yow as hitherto yow have faythfully and chargeably, so to vse your credit and power for vs to cause o^r subiects to be redy and obedient of what degree so ever the same shall be to s^hue ether in person, or w^t ther carriadgs horsees and other provisions necessary for the spedy removing of the sayd Quene, forseeing that no other of o^r Subiects but yow twoo have any conferēce w^t hir by the waye in any place, wherof as yow shall see occasion nedefull yow maye circumspectly admonish them and also directly chardg them./ And as soone as we shall here that she shall be at Tutburye, we will gyve yow knolledg of o^r plesure for your libertye to come from thence./ gyven

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vnd^r o^r Signett the xviiith of Janvary
the xjth yere of o^r reign.

19. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope
& Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk and directed "To o^r
right trusty & welbeloued the lord Scrope l.
warden of o^r west m^{ch}es against Scotland &
our trusty & right welbeloued counsellor sir
francis knollys knight o^r vicechamberlayn.
o either of them."

Endorsed by one of Sir Francis's clerks "26.
of January 1568 The Q. ma^{ty} L^{re} to me."
The first lines of the letter are lost, owing
to the upper part of the sheet having in the be-
ginning of this century been torn off and given
to the Dukes of Buckingham for the sake of
the Queen's autograph.

. that we the
house of yo^u the lord Scrope and to
ease you bothe, of the long & pain-
ful service you have susteyned in
attending to the custody of hir
wherin we finde cause to allowe &
accept thankfully yo^r service. So

we do p̄ntly fende oʀ right trusty & right welbeloued Cofin Therle of Shrewesbery to receiue the said Quene of you and to take the charge of the custody of hir according as he is well informed by ourself. And therefore we pray you vpon the delivery of this your charge vnto him to informe him of all maner of things requisite for him to know cōcernyng the save custody of the said Quene and of the mañers of your vsage of hir for that our meanyng is that she shuld finde no channge to be better vsed having given vs no cause to give hir more cōforte but rather lesse as we doubte not but yourselfs do well cōsider vpon hir late writings of vntrouthes touching vs. And furder we will you our vicechamberlayñ to declare to our said Cofin of Shrewesbery the mañer order & chargs of the diet of hir & hir cōpany and cause the clerke of

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the householde whom you have vsed,
to do the like service as he hath don.
and sūche money as shal remayn w^t
you of ours w^{ch} was lately sent vnto
you to deliver over as shalbe thought
mete vpon your cōference w^t our
said Cōfin of Shrewesbery and to
advertise vs w^t spede what furder
sōme shalbe requisite to send thither.
and furder to helpe to discharge
suche supfluous scotts or frenchemen
as do no other service but practise
vnmete things. And these things
being don we give licence aswell to
you the lord Scrope as to you our
vicechamberlain to cōme from
thence. and yet we wolde that our
servant Henry Knollys might re-
mayn there vntill the repaire of you
our vichamberlayn to vs with whom
we meane to cōferre therupon. and
so we require you to declare our
pleasure vnto our said s^rv^{ant}. given
vnder our signet at our hous^e of

Hamptonco't the xxvjth of January
the xjth yere of our reign. 1568.

20. *Lord Scrope to Nicholas
Lockwood.*

Written by a clerk, the signature "yo'
louyng m^r H Scrope" only being in Lord
Scrope's own hand.

We here as the Quene of Scottes
hath Dyspatched certayne of her
ffvants to passe in to Scotland. This
shall be to will and comānde you
that you suffer futchē psons to passe
into Scottlande as you shall reaceave
there Names in a Sedull here in
inclosed. Dated the ixth of ffeb-
rvarie. Año Dm̄. 1568.

yo' louyng m^r
H SCROPE

To my Louinge ffvānt
Nicolas Lockewood.

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21. *Sir William Cecil to Mr. Henry Knollys.*¹

In Cecil's own handwriting, but directed in a different hand: "To my very loving frend M^r Henry knolls esq^r at Tutbury."

S^r. I dovt not but your good brothar M^r vichamblayn doth aduertise yow by his l^res of y^e Q. Ma^{ty} allowāce of your service, and of hir desyre to have yow contynew ther some cōvenient tyme, and yet ne^rtheless that if your busyness shall

¹ Mr. Henry Knollys was Sir Francis's younger brother. Besides carrying out the several duties mentioned in these papers, and filling other offices which were entrusted to him by Elizabeth, he was in 1562 sent to Germany as the Queen's Ambassador to the Protestant Princes. Having sat in Parliament successively for Reading, Guildford, and Christ Church, he died in 1583, leaving as his executors his brother Sir Francis, and his nephew Sir William Knollys, afterwards Earl of Banbury.

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fo reqre that yow may come vpp at
our lady daye, and than vnderstand
further of hir Ma^{ty} plesvre. In y^e
meane tyme I wish yow good suc-
cess in y^t chardg, and y^t yow might
doo some good by your lernīg to
amēd them there y^t ar seduced by
error. frō westm^r the 21. of feb-
ruar. 1568

Your good assured frend
W. CICILLE.

22. *Queen Elizabeth to Mr. Henry
Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign
Manual. Directed "To our trusty and wel-
belouid s^rrūnt Henry knolles esquier."

ELIZABETH R. By the Queene.

Trusty and welbelouid we greete
yo^u well. Wheras vpon our late
comitting of the Duke of Norf-
folke to our Towre of London, for
the better assistance of our Lieu-

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teñnt there we appointid s^r Henry Nevell knight to take also the charge for the safe keeping of him there: Forasmuch as we ar pleasid to ease the said s^r Henry Nevell of that care and attendance for fifteene dayes, and haue in his place made choice of yo^u to take that charge vpon yow in the tyme of this his said absence: Our pleass^r is that yow shall furthwith resort to our said Towre. and delyu^ring vnto the Lieuteñnt there our l^res, by the which we do signify vnto him our pleass^r herin: yow shall thervpon confere with him and with the said s^r Henry Nevell. and receaue of them directions by such Instructions as we haue gyven to theim in this behalf for the ordring of your self in this charge. and so we will yo^u to entre into the same. Wherin we doubt not but your doings will satisfye our good opinion conceyvid

of your fidelitie towards vs./ Gyven
vnder our Signet at our Castell of
Windefore this xxjth of Novembre
1569. In the Twelveth yere of
our Reign./

Mr. henry knolles.

23. *The Privy Council to Mr. Henry
Knollys & others.*

The substance of the order written by a
clerk. Directed "To o^r very louing freends
Henry knolls Esquier M^r Wilbrahm Recorder
of the Cite of London and M^r doctour Will-
son M^r of St. katherins."

After o^r very Harty commenda-
tions We haue receyved yo^r l^res of
the xixth of this monneth together
with the examinations of wood¹

¹ According to the Calendar of State Papers,
Domestic Series, November 28th, 1569, there
is at the Rolls House a report by Henry
Knollys and others of the examination of
Thomas Wood, the priest, in the Tower, being
threatened with the rack, as to words uttered
by him and one Wm. Fenner.

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and others whome yo^u were lately by our ordre appointed to examine, for yo^r diligence vsed wherein we gyve yo^u our harty thanks. And bycause it appereth thereby vnto vs that nether the sayd wood nor Standen haue franckly vttered their dealings and knowledge in those matters whereof they haue byn examined, but doo rather obstinately deny the principall points wherewth they stande charged : we have thought good to returne the sayd examinations and the rest of the whole matter vnto yo^u to thintent yo^u may estsones call before yo^u the sayd wood, and in caase yo^u shall fynde hym to p^rfyft still in his willfullnes and obstinacie, withowt vttering franckly his knowledge in the matters wherewth he standeth charged, then wee think convenient yo^u first cause the pties that doo testefy against hym, to be brought

face to face before hym to wytnesse and prove as muche as they have allredy affirmed, and in caase he will not by this meanes yelde vnto the trouth and franckly discov^r the whole circumstance of the matter, then wee think necessarie and so require yo^u that yo^u threaten hym with the torture of the rack, and bring hym (if neede bee) vnto the fight and shewe thereof, with a countenance to put hym to the feeling the smart of the same. And nev^rthelesse if it cume to that point, and that yo^u shall pceyve he cannot by that meanes be brought to vtter the very trouth of his talks and doings in these causes, we wolde yo^u shoold forbeare to put hym to the torture in deede vntill yo^u shall receyve farther direction from hence. And of that yo^u shall have founde and doon herein wee require yo^u wee may be adv^rtised as commoditie

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shall serve. And so fare you well,
ffrom wyndesof the xxijth of No-
vemb^r 1569.

Yo^r louing frends,

N. BACO C. S. W. NORTH.

F. BEDFORD. R. LEYCESTER.

W. HOWARD. WA. MILDMAVE.

F. KNOLLYS.

post script. Bycause wee doo con-
sider that S^r Henry Nevill who
was before ioyned in commission
wth you m^r Recorder and m^r
wyllson for the examination of
wood and the rest is now absent
from thence, wee haue thought
good in his steade to ioyne you
m^r knolls wth the rest in his
steade.

M^r HENRY KNOLLES.

M^r RECORDER

M^r WYLLSON.

24. *The Duke of Norfolk to Queen Elizabeth.*

Copy partly written by a clerk, partly in the hand of Mr. Henry Knollys.¹

Most humbly I Thomas Duke of Norff, yo^r ma^{ty} moſte humble and obedient ſubieſt and ſeruannt doe with all reverence and dutie ſubmitt my ſelff to yo^r exelent ma^{ty}, bye knowledginge my offence, and by my voluntarye offeringe to make amendes for the ſame, with a determinate mynde never to offende yo^r ma^{ty}, ether in the ſame, or in anye like. Beſechinge yo^r moſt gracious goodnes to accepte me into yo^r favor to ſerve yo^u in anye manner that it ſhall pleaſe yo^r highnes to directe and

¹ A damaged copy of the Duke of Norfolk's ſubmiſſion is at the Rolls Houſe. For Abſtraſt ſee Calendar of State Papers, Domeſtic Series, Addenda, 1566-1579, pag. 304.

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commande me wherein I truste to make it apparant to the worlde howe humble a S^ruantt and loyall subiecte yo^r mat^{ie} hath of me readie to make recompence for the former offence by yo^r highnes conceived of me./

And where I did vnhappyly geaue eare to certeyne motions made to me in a cause of mariage to be prosecuted for me with the quene of Scottes I most humbly beseeche yo^r mat^{ie} p^rmitt me to declare suche parte of the truth that maketh in some parte mye excuse, as I will also willingly confesse the reste where in I did erre./

Surely I never consented to accorde thereto in any respect, but whatsoeuer reasons weare propounded to me to enduce me thereto for yo^r highnes benefitt and suertie, yeat (I humblye thanke almightie god) that I alwaies referred the allowannce and disallowannce to yo^r mat^s owne iudgement, as

it might appeare to be agreable or disagreeable to yo^r highnes, I beseech yo^r matie in the weyenge of that which otherwife was faultie in me, to haue gracious regarde, And on the other parte I doo confesse that nowe sithens I haue further considered thereof, not withstandinge any appearance of the reasons made for yo^r highnes benefitte to followe vpon that mariage: I did erre verie muche in that I did not cause the same to be knowne to yo^r matie vpon the first motion made to me./

And therefore I doe humblye, voluntarily, and with the lowlynes and fulnes of my harte acknowledge, that there in I haue geuen yo^r highnes cause of offence and doo frome the bottome of my harte crave of yo^r matie forgevenes for that which is past. And consideringe, I haue playnely pceaved that yo^r highnes dethe not lyke of suche mariag:

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neyther doe accompt yt to be for your benyfyte. I doe by thys my wrytyng fygned wythe myn owne hande & sealed w^t my seale, frely voluntarily & absolutly gravnt promyse & bynde myselff by the bonde of myn allegeans to your Ma^{te} as my soverayne dread lady, never to offend your hyghnes yn the same. But do vtterly renownce & revoke all that whythe on my parte ony wyse hathe passed: w^t a full Intention never to deale in that cause of mariag of the qwene of Scotts, nor yn ony other cause, belonging to her, but as yo^r mat^{ie} shall comānde me./

And thus hauinge vnder yo^r highnes fevor, declared my error and my repentance, with renūtiācon of all that I haue doñe therein, and assurance of my loyaltie to lyve free from any like offence I firmly hope that your Ma^{te} wyll extende your accustomed favor vpon me & draw me

owt of the dungeon of your displeasure, & presently gravnte me some releff for my helthe. And consequently of your gratiouse goodnes lett me appere to the worlde as one of your humble subgects not ony wyse towchyd w^t ony ynfidelite But to be ymployd as yt shall please your hyghnes w^t my lyff landes & goodes by servyce to your Ma^{te} & my Countre for the full recovery of your pryncly favor. And so recoveryng agayne the same I shall to my lyves ende by worde thought & dede acknowleg my selff to have bene vnder a most gracious prynce & soverayne ladye. And so continually pray for your Ma^{tes} long & most prosperous reigne. the .23. of June .1570.

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25. *The Privy Council to Justices of the Peace, &c.*

The substance of the order written by a clerk.

Whereas one Geralde Espes a noble man of Spaine, who was sente hether three yeres paste to be Ambassado^r here for the kinge of Spaine, Is by the Quenes Ma^{tie} vppon good causes appointed forthewth to depte the Realme, And for the more safe conduction of him to the Seacoaste in suche hono^rable man^r as appteineth, there is assigned for that purpose, our verie lovinge freinde, and her Ma^{ty} trustie s^rv^ante Henry knolles Esquier./ Theise be to requier yo^w, and straitelie to chardge yow that when the faide M^r knolles for that cause shall come or remayne in any Towne or place where as yo^w haue any thinge to do, or shall sende

any of his ſerv^{ants} to the ſaide plac^s
(ſpeciallie yo^r that be the Queēes
Ma^{ty} cheife officers in the Citties
and Townes betwixt this and Dover)
that yo^r do aide & aſſiſte him and
his ſervito^r in the beſte man^r that
yo^r can in all things, and vppon all
occaſions that he ſhall requier yo^r in
her Ma^{ty} name, and to furniſhe him
wth all ſuche neceſſaries, as he ſhall de-
clare vnto yo^r to haue nede of for the
accompliſhement of his ſaide ſervice,
and alſo to be attendant vppon him
yo^r ſelfes in yo^r owne p^{er}ſones, and to
bringe wth yo^r ſuche others and ſo
many as he ſhall thinke meete to
requier of yo^r for the aſſiſta^{nce} of
him, or for any occaſion of the ſer-
vice aforeſaide. And hereof we
chardge yo^r not to faile, as yo^r tende
the Queēes Ma^{ty} good contenta^{cion},
and will anſwer to the contrary at
yo^r pill.

To all Juſtices of the peace and

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gentlemen, Maio^{rs}, Bailifes,
and other officers what soeu^r
To whome it shall appteyne.

N. BACO. C. S.

T. SUSSEX. F. BEDFORD.

E. CLYNTON.

F. KNOLLYS. JAMYS CROFT.

R. LEYCESTER.

W. BURGHLEY.

WA. MILDMAVE.

26. *The Privy Council to Mr. Henry
Knollys.*

The substance of the order written by a
clerk. Directed "To o^r lovinge friende
Henrie Knolles Esquier."

Aftre o^r hertie comēdacons/
Theise be to signifie vnto yō that
the Q^{ues} Ma^{tie} hath appointed John
Hawkynes to passe over wth the
Spanish Amb^{re} to Calice, and that
one of hir maties owⁿ ships is armed
and ordered to come to Dover of

p^rpose, wth we thinke mete that yō
shoulde imparte to the said Amb^re/
And also, vppon knowledg from
the saied haukyns that he is in
full reddines, that yō accordinglie
prepare thambassado^r to come onward
to Dover by the terme of his daies
appointed him, wth vigilant regard,
as well on the waie, as when he shall
come to dover, that nether by his
walkes for the view of places, nor
yet by cōference wth any p^rsones,
wthout yo^r wiling he have comoditie
given, to accomplish such annoyance
towards this state, as by his other
practises it hath appered that his
maliciouse harte hath intended./
What so ever shalbe requisite for
his pasporte, for himself, his nombre
of men, his horses and what nombre
of them, or any other thing, that he
will sende a particular note of, the
same shalbe sent vnto him as apper-
teyneth./ And finallie when he

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shalbe in full reddines to imbarke,
and shall take his leave of the land,
and so in the chardge of Hawkynes,
we shall verie well like that yō
returne from him hither againe at
yo^r will and pleasure. And so we bidd
yō hertily fare well. ffrom Westm^r
the xxviijth of Decēb. 1571.

p^tscript we praye yō let the note
be sent for his passeporte that
all things maie be reddie.

Yo^r loving ffriends

T. SUSSEX.

F. BEDFORD.

E. CLYNTON.

F. KNOLLYS.

JAMYS CROFT.

R. LEYCESTER.

W. BURGHLEY.

HE KNOLLYS.

APPENDIX.

Summary of the Casket Letters.

Copy, written by a clerk, but endorsed in Sir Francis Knollys's own hand: "*Tutbery 1568. & Toure 1569.*"

The Summary here given differs in several details from those printed by Goodall and others.

"The specyall words of the Q. of Scotts lres, written w^t her owne hande to Bothwell declaringe her hatred and detestacion of her husband.

If I had not a profe of his harte
of waxe and that myne were of
dyamonde—I coulde almost pitie
him, he hath eu^r the teares in his
eye to make me haue pytie on him./
I can not cease to write to you though
I be goinge to sleepe, but cursed be
that pockie man that causeth me to
take so moche payne w^tout whome

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I might haue more pleafante matter to difcourfe of./

His breath doth fauor fo ill that it hath almoft flayne me, it is worfe then your Vnckles./

He was neu^r fo gay, he putteth me in remembrañce of all things w^{ch} might make me beleve that he lovith me, whereof I take fo moche pleafure that I neu^r enter where he is, but incontynent I haue the fickenes of my fore fyde/ I am fo fafched w^t him./

The speciall woords of the fayd Q. Ires to Bothwell declaringe thinordinat and fylthie love betwixt him & her./

Beinge deþted from the place where I lefte my harte it is eafie to iudge what is my counteñnce, beinge no more then abodie wthout a harte./

If I had not a profe of his harte of waxe, and that myne were of dyamonde, (where into no fhotte can make breche, but that w^{ch} cometh

out of yo^r hande) I coulde almost haue pitie on him; but feare not the place shall holde vnto the deth, prainge you not to let yo^r harte be woonne from me by that false race that will travill no lesse wth you for the same./

Excuse my ill writtinge for I can not amende it because I am not well at ease, and yet verie glad to write to you when others do slepe, syns I can not slepe as they do, and as I desyere that is in yor armes my dere Love./

I referre myself holie to yo^r will, and will obey you in all things and ame hollie at yor co^mmandement./

I am the most faithfull lou^r that eu^r you had or eu^r shall haue, after the kissinge of yo^r hands I ende my l^{re}, Remember yo^r Loue, write often, and love me as I shall love you, and remember the purpose of the Ladie Reres./

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The speciall words of the sayd Q lres to Bothwell declaringe the conspiracie of her husbands dethe.

This day his father did blede at the nose and at the mowth, ghesse you what presage it is./

I am doinge of a worke I hate greatly, but you wolde laughe to see how I flatter and defemble about it./

Adu'tise me what you are deliberate to do in the matier to the ende we may well vnderstande one a nother so as nothinge faile in defalte therof./

I am now goinge about my fashious and lothsome purpose which I do abhorre, you make me do thoffice of a traiteresse were it not to obey you I had leu^r be ded then do it, for my harte doth blede at it./

He will go w^t me where I woll haue him, alas I neu^r deceyued anybody but I referre me to yo^r will, and will obey you whatsoeu^r come thereof, advise w^t yo^rself if you can

fynde out any other secret invencion by medycyne for he is to take medecyne and the bath also at Crag-miller./

He is in greate fuspicion, and yet he doth credite my words, but I can not reioyse to deceyue him that trusteth me, but you may comānde me in all things and haue no ill opinion of me for that cause, for you be the occasion of it yo^rself, because for myne owne p^ticular revenge I wolde not do it./

Surely he suspectith the matier you knowe of, and of his lif also, but as to the last assone as I speke ij or iij good wordes to him he reioyfeth and is out of doubte./

Burne this lre for it is ou^r dangerous to vs and nothinge well sayd in it for I thinke vpon nothinge but fascherie, but fyns to obey you my dereft loue I spare nether hono^r, conscience, hazarde nor gretnes what foeu^r, take it

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in good pte and geve no credite agenst me, the most faithfull louer that eu^r you had or eu^r shall haue, and see not her whose fayned teares shoulde not be so moche esteemed as the faythfull travailes which I sustayne to merite her place, for the obteyninge whereof aynest my nature I betray him w^{ch} might impeche it, god for geve me, and geve you my only loue the hap and p^speritie which I yo^r humble and faythfull loue wishe vnto you, hoping shortlie to be a nother vnto you for the reward of my hirkesome travailes./

Accordinge to my commission I bringe the man w^t me to Cragmiller, but worke wislie or ells the hole burden will lye on my shoulders, make good watche that the birde flye not out of the cage./”



UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF
MADAME ROLAND.

COMMUNICATED BY HENRY A. BRIGHT.



UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF MADAME ROLAND.

Communicated by HENRY A. BRIGHT.



THE following fragment from one of Madame Roland's diaries came into my possession, in 1848, at the death of my relative, Mrs. Daniel Gaskell of Lupset Hall, near Wakefield.

Mrs. Gaskell's husband, who only died last year in extreme old age, was member of Parliament for Wakefield from 1833 to 1837, and Mrs. Gaskell was herself for many years well known in literary and political circles. She is mentioned in

2 *Unpublished Diary of*

the life of George Grote, and in the memoirs of Henry Crabb Robinson, and she numbered among her friends most of the philosophical Radicals of her day.

She was a lady of a restless intellectual activity, and was a collector of every description of autograph and literary curiosity.

Among these is this autograph of Madame Roland. Upon the outside cover Mrs. Gaskell has written: "On Sunday, the 14th of February, 1830, received from Dr. Spurzheim at Paris, the autograph of Madame Roland;" and on the autograph itself, which is a quarto sheet, closely written on all four sides, Dr. Spurzheim says: "Handwriting of Madame Roland, when Miss Philpon at the age of twenty-two years, received from her daughter, Mad: Champagneux."

There is no doubt whatever that

this fragment is in Madame Roland's handwriting, but it only quite recently occurred to me that it was possibly unpublished. With the help of Mr. Warner, of the British Museum, I have now ascertained that it is not to be found in any edition of Madame Roland's works. It was, probably, a detached page of the "*Pensées Diverses*," which purport to be "*tirées des manuscrits de la C^e Roland de l'année 1777*," and which are contained in the "*Œuvres*" published in 1800. These "*Œuvres*" were edited by M. Champagneux, whose son married Madame Roland's daughter; they are in three volumes, and are by no means a common book. Brunet, I find, does not mention it.

Dr. Spurzheim makes a slight mistake in saying that this MS. was written when Marie Phlipon was twenty-two years of age, for she was

4 *Unpublished Diary of*

born in 1754, and was thus a year older.

As regards the subjects on which she writes, I do not know that there is much to add. Roland had been introduced to her in 1775, and her first impressions had been by no means very favourable. She writes : " De la maigreur, le teint accidentellement jaune, le front déjà peu garni de cheveux et très découvert, n'altéroient point des traits réguliers, mais les rendoient plus respectables que séduisans."

Her opinion (as we see) gradually changed, and, in 1780, she married him. Her peculiar view of marriage is well known : " le mariage est une association où la femme se charge du bonheur des deux individus."

In 1777, however, her affections were taken up with a sentimental friendship for Sophie Cannel, who

Madame Roland. 5

is the "amie" of whom she here speaks, and whose heart is the "asyle" she finds so necessary to her happiness. Her correspondence with Sophie Cannet, to whom, by the by, she owed her first acquaintance with Roland, forms an interesting chapter in M. Dauban's very valuable "*Étude sur Madame Roland.*"

The flattering passage about England and her admiration for "la douceur des Lois penales," in 1777, is curious enough; but the following year she is less complimentary to us, as she writes :—"On dit les Anglais libres, et je crois qu'ils le sont plus que leurs voisins, plus que la plupart des peuples de l'Europe (excepté les Suisses) mais le commerce et l'amour de gain, les richesses et le luxe, en affoiblissant leurs mœurs, sapent insensiblement leur constitution, ou rendent inutile une partie de ses effets."

6 *Unpublished Diary of*

The yet stronger admiration for Rousseau, which she expresses here and elsewhere, had, we all know, the worst effect, and half spoiled those Memoirs, which are always interesting and sometimes of real beauty.

Madame Roland's handwriting is so crabbed, and her spelling so eccentric, that it was no easy task to decipher this MS. I received, however, such kind and efficient aid, that I believe I have made out every word ; but I have corrected nothing, and the fragment appears just as Marie Phlipon wrote it, within a year of a century ago.

HENRY A. BRIGHT.

Juln, 1777.

J'aime beaucoup La relation qu'a fait M. R. de son voyage à Londres ; elle est écrite avec un Enthousiasme auquel on participe sans s'en appercevoir et qui ajoute un nouveau

dégré de vivacité à l'intérêt que les choses inspirent par elles mêmes. Cet homme a une âme noble et forte, un feu actif et pénétrant qui animent et vivifient ses expressions et ses écrits ; son œil Philosophe, son goût simple et juste, saisissent Le beau, Le vrai, et Le présentent heureusement. J'aime les détails des mœurs dans lesquels il est entré : Les peintures divers que son imagination lui fournit ; ses idées rapides, jettées se semble au hazard, et qui sont autant de traits des Lumières à la faveur desquels on apperçoit son Elévation et son energie.

Quel spectacle intéressant que celui d'une Ville qui est La Capitale et L'Abrégé d'un Etât dont L'etendue, les forces, les moyens, les ressources, les lois, sont employés au bien du plus grand nombre, au maintien d'une Liberté qui est également la Source, la Compagne et l'Appui de la Vertu et

8 *Unpublished Diary of*

du bonheur! où L'Accord des membres du Corps politique, l'Equité d'un code Criminel, La douceur des Lois penales, La vigilance du Magistrat, L'exactitude de la Police, La Liberté des réclamations, La générosité du Caractère national, La simplicité des mœurs et des manières, La juste application de l'estime publique, La Culture des sciences utiles, Les monumens des Arts, Les Chef-d'œuvres du génie, présentent de tout côté des sujets d'Admiration et de plaisir! Les Émotions, les transports, d'un homme sensible et réfléchi, frappé, remué par ces objets, fait un autre tableau non moins piquant et flatteur. J'aimerai à voyager avec les gens de cette trempe, ils fourniroient a mes observations autant que les choses qui serviroient de matière aux leurs. C'est bien là Le cas d'appliquer votre mot de Plutarque: Les regardans ne sont pas les pis.

Rien n'est si doux, selon moi, que de se trouver avoir quelque Analogie avec des Personnes Estimables ; en lisant Rousseau, ou Diderot, mais surtout le premier, j'ai souvent éprouvé des transports excessifs et délicieux ; il me sembloit qu' ils m'eussent volée des sentiments qui m'animoient comme eux, et dont ils me faisoient des peintures que je n'aurai pû faire sans doute, mais qu'il m'appartient de juger parce que j'en avois les principes. Née avec une sensibilité extrême, je jugeais autrefois les autres d'après moi ; des mécomptes Affligeans me forcèrent bientôt de rectifier ma méthode et mon opinion. Réservée malgré moi, parceque La confiance est mon élément et ma vie, je devins observatrice (hélas que de tristes découvertes !) je me réfugiai dans le sein d'une amie pour y goûter tous les charmes auxquels il falloit renoncer dans les

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liaisons ordinaires ; dans tous les cas cette Asyle m'était nécessaire, et j'en sentis le besoin avant tout autre. Mais Le Bonheur d'avoir trouvé cet Asyle, n'est pas exclusif pour mon cœur : je suis encore singulièrement touchée quand je rencontre des personnes qui me ressemblent par quelque côté ; il est tant de gens qui se disent sensibles et il en est si peu qui le foyent ! quel plaisir quand on trouve ces derniers ! tout ceci est une suite naturelle de l'impression que m'a fait la Lecture du voyage de la Suisse ; j'y ai trouvé cette touche de mélancolie, ce ton du cœur, cette expression simple et vraie d'une âme honnête et brûlante, en idées, en gouts . . . enfin—quoi ? mes sentimens, ma manière d'être . . . j'ai pleuré, j'ai joui : il est encore des sujets auxquels on peut appliquer son estime. Cette Pensée est pénétrante quand on mé-

prise aussi parfaitement que je le fais
Le général des hommes,—J'entend
par là les 99^e Par centaine—d'individus que je peux connoître ; car, pour l'espèce, elle m'est bien chère. Mais aux sensations touchantes que je viens d'éprouver se joignent des considérations pénibles ; les dangers d'un long voyage, une absence de dix mois, point de nouvelles depuis près de quatre, la marche ordinaire des choses ou le mal se trouve toujours a côté du bien, les circonstances qui me sont particulières . . . tout martrise et fatigue mon imagination. Je suis dans ce cabinet chéri qu'il faudra quitter bientôt pour aller . . . hélas ! où serat-ce ? appuyée sur cette table où j'écrivie solitairement une pensée et une affection ; mes yeux se portent de temps en temps sur cette rivière, qui coule devant moi . . . elle m'entraîne avec elle—mes regards se

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fixent . . . la plume m'échappe—

J'ai rêvé ; j'ai repris le cahier qui m'intéressoit ; Le jour baisse et je m'arrête un instant pour remarquer qu'il n'est pas vrai que des Anecdotes particulières importantes par les sentimens qu'elles excitent ou qui les firent naître ne soient bonnes que pour celui qui les écrit. Les 15 pages que l'on conseille de franchir dans Le voyage de Suisse sont précisément celles qui me plaisent le plus ; elles peignent L'homme ; et quand c'est une Belle Ame, quel spectacle !

P. S.—In looking over the histories and memoirs of Madame Roland, I was surprised to find two distinct versions of her famous dying speech. In M. Dauban's "Etude," he gives "O Liberté, comme on t'a jouée," but in his edition of the "Memoirs" we have the more familiar

"O Liberté, que de crimes on commet en ton nom." Feeling interested in the subject, I have made some further research, and with the following result. Riouffe, in his "*Mémoire d'un détenu*," says: "A la place du supplice, elle s'inclina devant la statue de la liberté et prononça ces paroles mémorables: O Liberté, que de crimes on commet en ton nom."

In Barrière's "*Mémoire de Madame Roland*," there is a prefatory "*Notice sur Madame Roland*," in which he quotes this passage from Riouffe, but adds in a foot-note: "Quant aux paroles adressées à la statue qu'elle avait devant les yeux, ce furent celles-ci, si l'on doit en croire l'ouvrage auquel nous empruntons ces derniers détails: Ah, Liberté, comme on t'a jouée," and he then gives a reference to "*Letters containing a Sketch of the Politics of*

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France, from 31 May, 1793 to 28 July, 1794," by Helen Maria Williams, 1796.

In Helen Maria Williams's book we find:—

"When more than one person is led at the same time to execution, since they can suffer only in succession, those who are reserved to the last are condemned to feel multiplied deaths at the sound of the falling instrument, and the sight of the bloody scaffold. To be the first victim was therefore considered as a privilege, and had been allowed to Madame Roland as a woman. But when she observed the dismay of her companion, she said to him: 'Allez le premier: que je vous épargne au moins la douleur de voir couler mon sang.' She then turned to the executioner, and begged that this sad indulgence might be granted to her fellow sufferer. The executioner

told her that he had received orders that she should perish first. 'But you cannot, I am sure,' said she, with a smile, 'refuse the last request of a lady.' The executioner complied with her demand. When she mounted the scaffold, and was tied to the fatal plank, she lifted up her eyes to the statue of Liberty, near which the guillotine was placed, and exclaimed: 'Ah, Liberté, comme on t'a jouée!' The next moment she perished." Second edition, 1796, vol. i. p. 102.

Beyond these two authorities I am unable to trace either form of this last utterance, and the question remains which is the more probable. For my own part I rather incline to the least known version. It is the shortest and the most impassioned. It seems, too, to contain the thought, which, by repetition, might afterwards grow into the fuller expression.

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In other words, it would appear more likely that "O Liberté, comme on t'a jouée," would gradually expand into "O Liberté, que de crimes on commet en ton nom," than that the latter and more definite form should shrink back into the former.



LETTERS OF JAMES THE SECOND
TO THE ABBOT OF
LA TRAPPE.

EDITED BY LORD ACTON.



INTRODUCTION.



THE most prominent fact in the last years of James the Second is the friendship which he contracted with the Abbot of La Trappe. Of Rancé's share in their correspondence, consisting of twenty-two letters, little is known; but fragments of those which the king wrote to him have been published in the Life of James, and they authenticate the following collection. A copy made by the Trappists, for Mary Beatrice, was long in the possession of the Roman bookseller Petrucci, at whose sale, in 1864, it came into

my hands. I have thought the letters worth printing entire, as they contribute something to the interpretation, if not to the narrative of the events which caused the rejection of religious liberty and the ruin of Ireland.

When James returned to France after his Irish campaign, his want of dignity in misfortune, his insensibility to the fate of his deserted followers, his perpetual chattering and laughter, made him an object of general disgust. People could scarcely believe that he was the man whom Condé had pronounced inaccessible to fear, of whom Turenne had prophesied that he would become illustrious in war, who had led the English fleet on the memorable day when De Ruyter fled before it, who had been willing to dare so much for power, and to sacrifice so much for religion. Although the report of

Introduction. v

Lauzun cast no reproach on his conduct at the Boyne, and although the design which brought him back in such unseemly haste was plausible, for the Battle of Beachy Head had made the French, for the last time, masters of the Channel, while the English forces were invading Munster, yet James's credit had fallen too low to prevail against the scorn of Louvois. He had been tried by prosperity and by adversity, and had proved unequal to both.

Eleven years later the same people who now despised him as a driveller came away in tears from his serene and solemn deathbed; strangers who had never looked upon his face begged for his relics; bishops believed that miracles were wrought by his intercession; and the Pope, while ordering masses for his soul, declared his belief that they were unneeded. The conversion of the

frivolous, licentious, hard-hearted sexagenarian into an almost venerable Christian, repentant, forgiving, and full of mild counsel, was principally the work of Rancé, and its progress is exposed in the following correspondence.

The Cistercian Abbey of La Trappe had for twenty years been celebrated as the most austere monastery in Christendom, and its abbot was deemed the most profound director of consciences since St. Bernard. The busiest and most distinguished men in France, courtiers like St. Simon, and prelates like Bossuet, came to him for advice in the trials and the labours of life; and men notorious for their vices, and even for their crimes, fled from the world to bury their last days in a house where neither meat nor fish was eaten, where the austerities produced constant illness, where the

dying were required to die without seeing a physician, and every inmate longed for death.

Bellefonds, who brought James to La Trappe for the first time soon after his flight from Ireland, was highly esteemed, as a man of strict principles, and a speaker of unwellcome truth. It was by his advice that Madame de la Vallière had sought a refuge with the Carmelites; and he was the only officer since Turenne who had force of character to resist the king, or who was permitted to address Louvois in language such as may be found in one of his letters:—"Je prétends vous servir, et je ne serai point embarrassé quand ce ne sera pas à votre mode." He had accepted disgrace and exile for refusing to execute a policy to which, he said, was owing the speed with which France lost her conquests. Yet Lewis never ceased

to trust him as a man fitted by nature for missions of unusual delicacy. When an army was assembled at the foot of the Apennines, in order to coerce Alexander the Seventh, Bellefonds received the command; and in the Expedition of 1692 he was appointed to accompany James, with instructions to preserve him from relapse into the courses by which he had lost his throne. But when one half of the squadron that had escaped from La Hogue was destroyed on the beach of Cherbourg, the disaster was ascribed to his vacillation. He enjoyed the intimate friendship and confidence of Rancé; and it was to him that the Abbot, in the most anxious moment of his career, addressed the vindication of his house.

James was attracted to the place by curiosity; but he returned to it almost every year until his death;

and he declared that he owed to Rancé the awakening of his conscience, and the best part of his religious sentiments. The letters which he wrote to him in these circumstances, although very poor specimens of composition, are valuable because of their evident sincerity. They show that the progress of his mind, as he passed from manhood to old age, was real; that it was slow; and that it began at a low point in the intellectual and moral scale.

In his advice to his son James assured him that a Latitudinarian was generally an atheist and a knave. The same tone pervades great part of these letters. Few Protestants, James informs Rancé, led virtuous lives. There is no hope for the soul of his daughter Mary, more particularly on account of the sin of the Revolution. He is convinced that

William the Third will perceive that it is his interest to persecute English Catholics. He thinks the wicked inexcusable now that the King of France rewards the virtuous.

The unsparing language of James towards his enemies may be attributed to a better cause than personal resentment. For men who had elaborately circulated and traded upon the calumnies touching the Great Fire, the death of Essex, the birth of the Prince of Wales, who had suborned perjurers to swear away innocent lives, who had solicited pensions from France out of regard for their country, and had pensioned Oates out of regard for their religion, whose zeal for tolerance was a selfish pretence, whilst their zeal against the prerogative slumbered under a Protestant king, his contempt was not only excusable but just. He

had learned from Sheldon to believe that the most strenuous writers of Anglican controversy were insincere. Compton had said that the Protestant religion could not maintain itself if the favour of the Court was transferred to the Catholics; and Sunderland had professed to think that all England would be Catholic in two years, if the Penal Laws were repealed.

The most important points touched on in these Letters are the Declaration of 1693 in favour of the Test, the Assassination Plot, and the scheme for making James King of Poland.

Rancé was one of the divines consulted respecting the lawfulness of the Declaration, and it appears that he approved of it. Whilst the judgment of the Sorbonne wavered, the Non-jurors condemned unequivocally the concessions which the king had been advised to offer, and held him ab-

solved from the obligation of abiding by them. His own language was sensible; and it is apparent that he was more sincere than many of his English partisans.

The most significant of all his Letters is dated Calais, the 3rd of March, 1696. He confides to Rancé that the prospects of the intended expedition are gloomy, unless Heaven should interfere in a visible manner; but that he himself feels bound to neglect no precaution that a good Christian may adopt. The words are words of edification. The meaning of them is that he was watching for the signal-fire on Shakespeare's Cliff which was to proclaim that William had been shot, and that the time had come for the French to land. Schemes of this kind were not yet unusual, and were not always deemed equivalent to murder. Louvois, in giving orders to seize

the celebrated Austrian diplomatist Lifola, had added, "Même il n'y auroit pas grand inconvénient de le tuer, pour peu que lui ou ceux qui seroient avec lui se défendissent." And the idea of despatching William by a sudden attack had been suggested by a professor of Louvain before his landing in Torbay. When James the Second refused to have the Irish Protestants massacred, the author of the advice surmised that he expected the thing to be done without his orders. But there is no stronger indication of the perversity which ruined his family and his cause than the unqualified sympathy which he shows for assassins in writing to the most rigid of divines.

Shortly after the failure of this, his last enterprise, on the death of Sobieski, James was spoken of as his successor; and Pomponne was sent to inform him of the report in terms

which made it clear that no more would be done for his restoration. He at once resolved that it was impossible to become a candidate for the crown of Poland without renouncing his own. In truth, he had no more hope, and was prepared for the stipulations of Ryfwick. He would maintain inviolate the claims which his son was so soon to inherit ; but, for himself, he had heartily resigned not only the dream but the desire of again occupying a throne. The ferocity which had mingled so strangely with his devout speech seems to have been quelled ; and the death of the Duke of Gloucester roused him to some manifestation of good feeling.

In justice to his memory, and to the softened disposition of his closing years, it should be added that these Letters do not show him at his best. Rancé was not among that small

minority of French ecclesiastics who allowed themselves freedom to judge the policy of their king; and he had applauded the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. James did not care to dwell on topics concerning which he had learned to differ from his correspondent. We know from other sources that, in this respect, the severe lesson of his life had not been thrown away, and that he remained constant to the end, as the solitary advocate of toleration at the Court of France.

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COPIE FIDELLE DES LETTRES QUE
LE S^r. ROY D'ANGLETERRE
A ECRITTES AU
R^d. PERE DOM ARMAND JEAN
ANCIEN ABBÉ DE LA TRAPPE.


Depuis le 8^e decembre 1690; Jusqu'au 20^e Septemb. 1700.



Lettres du Roy D'Angleterre
au R^d. Pere ancien Abbé
de La Trappe.

Lettre premiere du 8^e. decembre. 90.

A St. Germain.

 J'AY esté tellement content
de tout ceque j'ay veu a
La Trappe, et si édifié de
voir avec quelle devotion
le bon Dieu y est servi, que Je ne
puis pas m'empecher de vous le te-
moigner moy même, et de commencer
un commerce de Lettres avec vous,
que jespere me fera utile pour le
Salut de mon ame, a quoy Je sçay que
tout le monde est également obligé

de travailler dans l'estat ou Dieu les a mis. Vous sçavez mieux que personne qu'est que c'est que le monde, vous l'avez quitté pour mieux faire vôtre salut, heureux ceux qui le peuvent quitter. Je ne porte envie qu'à ceux là, quoique je ne laisse pas de croire, que c'est dans le pouvoir de ceux qui sont hors de Cloistres de le faire, s'ils veulent travailler a cette importante affaire comme il faut, car il ny a rien qui empeche un Roy, ou tout autre homme d'avoir de l'humilité, de la Charité Chrétienne, et une entiere resignation a la volonté de Dieu, sans faire tort ou a leur caractère ou a leurs affaires, aussi bien que les bons peres de La Trappe. La France, et l'Angleterre l'ont fait voir dans les Louis, et les Edouards, que lon peut estre Saint et grand Roy a la fois, mais pour la pluspart nous nous laissons aller trop aux vanitéz et faux Plaifirs de ce monde, et pour la pluspart on ne se

donne pas le temps d'y songer murement, car si on le faisoit, il n'y auroit pas tant de gens de perdu. J'espere que le bon Dieu me fera la grace d'y bien songer, et de profiter du voyage que J'ai fait chez vous, et de ne jamais oublier ceque j'y ay veu et entendu. Je suis fâché de n'y avoir pas demeuré plus longtemps afin d'avoir plus profité, et de vous avoir parlé plus au fons que J'ai fait, comme aussi d'avoir eû plus particulièrement vôtre avis sur une si importante affaire. Il n'y a Personne qui est plus propre à me les donner que vous, qui avez tant de Lumières et de piété, et qui connoit le monde et les difficultés qu'il y a de se bien conduire en veritable Chrestien. C'est pourquoy J'espere que quand vous m'écrirez que vous me direz quelque chose sur ce sujet. Quoique Je ne laisse pas d'être sensible de la pesanteur de la main de Dieu sur moy, et même en des choses qui

me touchoient le plus, comme Je vous ai dit quand J'estois avec vous, Je ne laisse pas en même temps d'être bien touché des bontéz de Sa Divine Majesté, de m'avoir rapellé encore une fois a la penitence. Dieu en soit loué, et de tout ce qu'il a fait a mon égard. La Reine se recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres pour elle. Je fais la même chose pour moy, et mon fils, en vous assurant de mon amitié.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 2^e. du 17^e. janvier. 91.

Je vous envoie selon la promesse que je vous ay faite, les Ecrits du feu Roy mon frere, et la déclaration de deffunte la Duchesse. Les deux premiers ne sont pas si bien traduits que l'autre, et pour dire le vray, il falloit plustost une paraphrase qu'une tra-

duction, a cause que ce qu'il écrit en peu de mots, a beaucoup de force, comme ceux de l'Eglise Anglicane (comme ils s'appellent) ont trouvé, a qui Je les avois fait voir, et n'y ont jamais voulu répondre, quoique Je les avois fort pressé de le faire. Le seul docteur Burnet, que Je ne compte pas de ce nombre, a entrepris de le faire, mais cela a été en veritable pedant, en tachant a faire voir quil n'observoit pas bien exactement les regles de la langue angloise, et ne repondant pas a ce qui estoit le plus essentiel. Je vous prie de m'envoyer la coppie de cet escrit qui est en françois dans la chambre ou J'ai soupé. Il est bien plus necessaire d'être affiché dans les palais des Roys, que dans un lieu ou l'on voit tant de sainteté. Je me recommande à la continuation de vos bonnes prieres; nous autres qui sommes dans le monde, en ont bien besoin, étant exposés comme nous

hommes a tant de fortes de dangers, tant spirituels que temporels, par l'embaras des affaires et mille autres accidents que l'on ne prévoit pas. Je tâcheray à m'engarantir le mieux que Je puis, en me resouvenant de tout ce que J'ay veu a La Trappe, et en essayant den profiter. La Reine se recommande à vos bonnes prieres, et Je vous prie de ne pas oublier mon fils.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 3^e. du 26^e. mars. 91.

J'AY esté bien fâché d'apprendre que vous avéz esté longtemps incommodé durant cet hyver, par une chute que vous fistes, et suis bien aise de sçavoir que vous estes tout à fait remis comme m'a dit, Milord Dumbarton. Je vous prie de croire que Je prend beaucoup de part à tout ce qui vous regarde.

Je crois que vous en faites de même à mon égard, et en cette confiance, moy qui n'aime gueres a me plaindre, Je ne peux pas m'empêcher de vous faire part d'une tres grande mortification qui m'est arrivée, et qui me touche dans un point qui m'est fort sensible. C'est de n'avoir pas été du voyage de Mons avec le Roy, quand je m'attendois fort a y aller, croyant avoir raison de le souhaitter pour plus d'une raison. Mais enfin je nay pas pû gagner mon point, et trouve que ceque St. Francois de Sales dit dans son Chapitre de la Patience, se verifie en moy. Je tacheray à suivre ses bons advis, et a imiter tant que l'on peut la resignaõn que l'on voit chez vous. Je sçay que lon ne devoit se chagriner de rien, que d'avoir offensé le bon Dieu; qu'il est difficile darriver a cette perfection dans le monde, Je ne le sçay que trop. Je me recommande à la continuation de vos bonnes prieres,

pour moy, jespere que les bons peres
de la Maison le fairoient auffy.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 4^e. du 30^e. Aoust. 91.

QUE vous êtes heureux de cequil
a plû au bon Dieu de se servir de vous
pour rapeller a luy tant de gens égaréz
et qui selon les apparences se feroient
perdûs sans la vie Chrétienne et exem-
plaire que mennent vous et les bons
religieux de votre Abbaye. La rela-
tion que J'ay veu depuis peu de jours
du 21^e de juillet de La Trappe sur le
sujet de ce gentilhomme Savoyard
m'a fort touché le cœur, en me faisant
voir la misericorde que Dieu a eûe
pour luy. Le bon Dieu en soit loüé,
comme auffy la retraite qu'un tres
honneste homme de la Robe a fait
depuis peu, qu'il n'y a pas longtemps
a été chez vous, a ce que l'on m'a dit.

Ce sont des miracles de la bonté divine que l'on n'a point vûs en mon pays parmy les pretendus reforméz. Il est vray que j'en connois quelques uns qui vivent moralement bien, et qui ont commencé a le faire des leur jeunesse, mais pour ceux qui ont menné une vie fort debauchée et de-reglée, je n'en ay connû pas un. Ce n'est que dans la Veritable Eglise que l'on voit des miracles; et ces sortes de conversions en sont certainement de tres grands. Heureux sont ceux qui sont néz et élevéz dans la Vraie Religion; quel remercim^t ne doivent ils pas au bon Dieu pour cela, a plus forte raison ceux qui n'ont pas eü ce bonheur, et qui ont été appelléz des tenebres a la lumiere. Que ne doivent ils pas faire, que ne doivent ils pas estre prests et contents a souffrir, pour une si grande bonté. Je sçay bien qu'il n'y a rien plus aisé à dire, mais difficile a faire, c'est pourquoy Je

me recommande a vous, et a tous ceux de vôtre maison de prier le bon Dieu pour moy, afin qu'il luy plaife de me donner une entiere refignation et conformité a Son bon plaifir en toutes chofes, étant tres fenfible que fans ces dons, on ne peut pas eſtre content en ce monde, ni heureux dans l'autre.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 5^e. du 2^e. decembre. 91.

JE vous fuis bien obligé, et à tous les bons freres pour la lettre d'affociation que vous m'avez envoieé, puisque par là je participeray de tous vos bons advis, eſperant par là, et par la continuation de vos bonnes prieres pour moy, de perſeverer a méprifer le monde au point que tout chretien le devroit faire. Il y a peu de perſonnes qui ont eû plus de raifon de le con-

noître que moy, ayant éprouvé a quel point le monde est trompeur, et que c'est la plus grande folie de s'y fier. Ceux qui se veulent donner tant soit peu de temps à y songer, ne peuvent pas s'empêcher d'avoir les mêmes sentimens, comme aussi que pour être content en ce monde, il faut le mépriser, et avoir une conformité entiere a la volonté de Dieu. Je tâche a suivre les bons avis que vous m'avez donnés tant que ma foiblesse me le permettra. J'ay commencé à communier plus souvent que je ne faisois, me trouvant dans l'état apres m'estre bien examiné que vous m'avez dit quil falloit estre pour cela, esperant par ce moyen avoir ce fervent amour pour le bon Dieu que l'on devoit avoir, et quil ne refuse pas à ceux qui le demandent avec ardeur, et qui travaillent tout de bon pour l'acquiescer. Je loue le seigneur de tout mon cœur de m'avoir donné la curi-

ofité de voir si ce que l'on m'avoit dit de La Trappe, étoit au point que l'on me l'avoit dépeint. Je lay trouvé auffi, et encore plus que l'on ne me l'avoit dit, et la pieté que j'ay veu chez vous, m'edifia tant, et me toucha tellement le coeur, que des alors je songai plus ferieusement a mon salut et à travailler tout de bon à l'obtenir. La Reine demande la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et celles de toute la communauté ; dans l'estat ou elle est, Elle en a plus de besoin, se croiant grosse. Priez a nôtre Seigneur que ce soit un fils, et n'oubliez pas celui qu'il nous a déjà donné.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 6^e. du 9^e. Juillet. 92.

J'AY esté bien aise de me servir de cette occasion de vous écrire par ce porteur, le Sieur D'Eragny qui vâ a La Trappe à ce qu'il m'a dit, pour

voir la Profession de Santena. Je ne me suis pas trop pressé de le faire depuis mon retour de La Hougue, sachant que le Marechal de Belfons vous a rendu compte de tout ce qui s'est passé en ces quartiers, ou la main de Dieu a paru fort visiblement, car sans cela le dessein ne pouvoit manquer, le Roy ayant si bien conferté le tout. Enfin Dieu ne l'a pas voulu, nous n'avons pas encore souffert assez pour nos pechés, je veüx dire moy, et mes sujets, et il faut s'y soumettre avec la derniere resignation ; et le loüer pour tout ce qu'il luy plaist de faire ; et esperer qu'il retablira un jour nôtre S^{te}. Religion dans tous mes royaumes. La prise de Namur n'a pas seulement esté fort glorieuse et fort utile pour le Roy, mais aura des suites heureuses, et de tres bons effets à legard de mes affaires en Anglettere. Dieu en soit loüé, car cela relevera l'esperance de mes amis en ce pays la, et fera perdre la reputation au

Prince d'Orange par tout. La Reine m'a chargé de vous dire qu'elle ne reçeût vôtre derniere lettre que le jour devant son âcouchem^t. Elle se recommande bien fort a vos bonnes prieres, ayant esté fort incommodée par la gravelle depuis ses couches. Pour ma fille, elle se porte tres-bien, aussi bien que mon fils ; je vous les recommande aussi ; pour moy, je suis assuré que vous ne m'oublierez pas, et je tacheray le mieux que ie puis de suivre les bons advis que vous m'avez donnéz.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 7^e. du 30^e. Juillet. 92.

J'AY receu il y a quelques jours la vôtre du 18 avec plaisir, puis qu'on trouve dans toutes vos lettres des instructions tres utiles pour nôtre salut, si Dieu nous fait la grace d'en

profiter. Vous sçavez que j'en ai bien envie, et que je travaille tout de bon a devenir bon Chrestien, et à me soumettre entierrement à la volonté de Dieu, sans murmurer en aucune maniere de tout ce qui m'est jamais ou peut arriver. Vous sçavez que trop bien que quoique la main de Dieu s'estoit appesantie sur moy, devant que d'avoir esté chez vous, je n'avois pas ce mespris et detachem^t du monde, dont je jouïs presentement. Je me fers de cette phrase de jouir, puisque je n'ay jamais esté veritablement heureux, jusqu'a ce que j'ay eü cette conformité a la volonté divine, et comme je sçay que vous feréz fort aise de contribuer encore a mon avancement spirituel, Je vous prie de temps en temps de me faire avoir de vos nouvelles, et de me donner de vos instructions a legard des distractions qui ne m'arrivent que trop souvent quand j'affiste a la Messe,

et que je dis mes prieres en particulier, et de me donner des remedes contre la trop bonne opinion de moy-même; estant sensible que quand nôtre ennemy voit qu'il ne peut pas nous détourner de l'envie qu'on a de vivre plus regulierem^t que par le passé, il se sert même des gens de bien pour nous faire tomber dans ses pieges, par les loüanges quelque fois qu'ils donnent, croyant nous encourager par là de continuer dans les bonnes intentions que l'on a de perseverer a bien faire. Vous voyez que je connois quelques uns des dangers a quoy l'on est exposé, et suis sensible que de nous mêmes, nous ne pouvons rien faire de bon; donnez moy de vos bons advis la dessus. Je me recommande et tous les miens a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, esperant que le reste de la communauté ne nous oublieront pas.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 8^e. du 21. Octobre. 92.

IL faut tacher d'avancer dans le bon chemin, et faire ce que l'on peut pour ne pas reculer, c'est pourquoy je m'adresse a vous de temps en temps pour être bien instruit. Je fais ce que ma foiblesse me permet pour ne pas manquer aux instructions que vous m'avez desja données : presentement je serois bien aise de scavoir de vous, comment je dois passer le temps lorsque je m'éveille la nuit, le faisant pour la plus part environ les quatre heures du matin, sans me rendormir de long temps apres, et quoiqu'il me paroist que dans l'état ou je me trouve, il ne seroit pas a propos de me lever pour prier et louer le bon Dieu, faites moy scavoir je vous prie, ce que je dois faire pour passer plus chrétienement ce temps là. J'espere que vous comprenéz ce que je veux dire : au

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reste souvenéz vous de moy quand
vous offrirez le saint sacrifice à l'autel.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 9^e. du 3^e. Juillet. 93.

J'AY esté bien fâché d'apprendre par le Marechal de Belfons qui me vint voir l'autre jour, que vous n'estes pas encore bien remis de l'incommodité que vous avez eüe il y a quelque temps. Je vous prie de me faire scavoir de vos nouvelles, m'interessant beaucoup en tout ce qui vous regarde. Si je puis, je fairay un tour chez vous avant la fin de l'été, et alors j'espère vous trouver tout a fait remis. Je continue à suivre les bons advis que vous m'avez donnéz, autant que je puis. On n'a qu'a vivre pour connoître le monde, et pour le mépriser, et plaindre tous ceux qui s'y plaisent, et qui ne songent

qu'a s'y établir. Je loue le bon Dieu de ce qu'il a appesanty sa main sur moy ; car peut estre sans cela, je n'aurois pas esté si sensible de mon devoir comme je suis présentement. Je me recommande à la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de ceux de votre communauté.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 10^e. du 19^e. Septembre. 93.

Je vous envoie la coppie des deux papiers dont je vous avois parlé, comme aussi la déclaration qui a esté publiée par mon ordre en Angleterre, afin que vous voiez le tout. Je n'avois pas fait consulter ces Messieurs de La Sorbonne sur l'article du Test, ne croyant pas que ce pouvoit estre un cas de conscience, puisque cela ne fait autre tort aux Catholiques, que de les empêcher d'avoir aucune charge, et

d'approcher de la personne du Roy sans une permission signée de six Seigneurs du Conseil Privé. Ce que je dis sur ce chapitre, ne m'empêche pas de faire tout ce que je puis par les formes, pour tacher à persuader au Parlement de consentir à l'abolir, ou pour le moins de l'adoucir, croiant fermement que ce que j'ay dit sur le Test, est le meilleur moyen pour obtenir ce que je souhaite la dessus. Je ne m'étendrai plus sur cet article, vous ayant parlé fort au long sur ce sujet. Il y a d'autres clauses à quoy l'on trouve à redire, comme celles où je promets de passer tels actes que le Parlement me proposera. Il est vray que la declaration auroit pû avoir esté mieux dressée, et en des termes moins choquans, mais je fus tellement pressé par ceux qui me l'envoierent d'Angleterre, et même par Messieurs les Ministres de France, qui l'avoient vüe et approuvée, de la mettre au

jour, croyant alors la conjoncture favorable, que je n'avois pas le temps de la corriger comme il falloit ; outre qu'attendant beaucoup par ce moyen de ceux qui me l'avoient envoyée, il estoit à propos de tenir autant que l'on pouvoit, en conscience, au pieds de la lettre. Enfin il n'est pas raisonnable de croire que des gens qui demandent mon retour veuillent me proposer ou insister sur aucune demande contraire à ma conscience, quoiqu'ils peuvent exiger de moy des choses a l'égard de l'autorité royalle qui seront assez dures ; et ce me semble que ce fera un grand point gagné pour la Catholicité d'avoir un Roy Catholique en Angleterre. Je vous prie de m'écrire franchement vos sentimens sur cette affaire, car tout homme qui á envie d'estre bon chrétien ne doit pas faire la moindre chose qui peût hazarder son salut pour gagner tout le monde. Au reste

je suis fort content du voyage que j'ai fait chez vous ; je tâcheray autant que je puis d'en profiter. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de tous ceux de vôtre maison.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 11^e. du 19^e. Fevrier. 94.

IL y a quelques jours que vôtre neveu me donna la vôtre du 4^e. de ce mois, et je vous suis bien obligé pour la continuation de vos prieres et de vos souhaits. Je fais de mon mieux pour suivre les bonnes instructions que vous m'avez données, et que vous continuéz de me donner, par vôtre derniere lettre. Jamais elle ne pouvoit arriver en un temps plus propre qu'a cette heure, puisqu'il n'y a pas eû si peu d'apparence de mon rétablissement qu'a cette heure, par

l'impuissance ou le Roy se trouve de me faire passer la mer, et cela dans un temps que mes amis en Angletterre le demandoient avec instance, et l'attendoient, et que mes ennemis le craignoient, et que le Roy le souhaittoit, et je puis dire avec verité autant que moy, j'en suis seur. Mais le bon Dieu ne le veut pas encore. Que Sa Sainte volonté soit toujours faite, et il faut se soumettre sans murmurer, et même avec joie à tout ce qu'il ordonne, en se souvenant que nous sommes entre ses mains, et que c'est là nôtre bonheur, étant assuré que Luy qui nous a créé de rien pour nous rendre eternellement heureux, si nous vivons chrétiennement, ne manquera jamais à ce qu'il nous a promis. Tout le monde connoist cette verité, ou peuvent la connoître s'ils veulent donner tant soit peu de temps à y songer. J'en suis de ce nombre, et tâche autant que ma foiblesse me

permet de vivre selon ma croiance ;
priéz le bon Dieu qu'il me fasse cette
grace, et qu'il me donne une entiere
resignation à Sa Sainte volonté, et
de ne rien craindre que de l'offencer,
car tant que nous ne manquons pas
à nôtre devoir à son égard, nous
ferons contens, même je dis heureux
en ce monde, et aurons quelque raison
d'espérer une heureuse eternité. La
Reine vous remercie de vos bonnes
prieres et vous prie de les continuer.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 12^e. du 26^e. Mars. 95.

Je suis bien fâché d'apprendre, par
la lettre que vous m'avez envoyée,
que vous etiez tellement incommodé
par une defluccion à vôtre main
droitte, que vous ne pouviéz pas vous
en servir, dont j'en suis bien en peine,
prenant autant de part que je fais en
ce qui vous touche de si près. Vous

avez eü raison de dire, que la mort de la Princesse d'Orange me surprit beaucoup ; elle n'avoit que trente et trois ans, et en apparence une santé bien stable. J'en fus touché d'autant plus qu'elle a eü le malheur de mourir dans une religion ou on ne peut rien esperer de bien pour son ame, et outre cela, à ce que l'on m'a assuré de bonne part, elle a déclaré en mourant qu'elle ne se sentoît pas chargée d'aucun grand peché, ayant veſcû religieusement ſelon ſa religion, et que ſi elle avoit fait quelque choſe à quoy le monde pouvoit trouver à redire, c'eſtoit apres avoir conſulté les plus ſcavans et les plus qualifiés de ſon eglise, et que c'eſtoit à eux et non à elle d'en répondre ; faux raisonnement, et malheur au trompeur, auſſi bien qua ceux ou celles qui ſe laiſſent tromper de la forte. Il eſt étonnant de voir le peu de monde qui ſonge comme il le doit à l'avenir, et combien qui vivent comme ſ'il n'y avoit point

un Dieu, une eternité, un enfer ou ils seront precipitez s'ils ne vivent pas en bons Chrétiens, et que tant de gens qui paroissent avoir du bon sens, se laissent aller aux fausses promesses du monde. On n'a qu'a vivre dans le monde pour connoître cette verité, ils ne peuvent pas le nier eux mêmes, et scavent qu'on n'est assuré de rien en ce monde, si ce n'est qu'il faut mourir. Vous avez été penetré de ces grandes verités de bonheur. Je me recommande a vos bonnes prieres afin que je continue a me servir des instructions salutaires que vous m'avez données. Je prétens me donner la satisfaction de faire un tour chez vous cet été, et meme plutôt que l'année passée. La Reine vous fait ses complimens esperant que vous vous ressouviendrez d'elle dans vos prieres. Je vous recommande la même chose pour mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 13^e. du 12^e. Juin. 95.

AYANT trouvé une voie aussi seure que par ce porteur, je n'ay pas voulu manquer de m'en servir, pour vous dire que je suis fort aisé que vous vous portez un peu mieux, car il m'a dit que vous n'aviéz plus la fièvre. Je pretend s'il plaist au bon Dieu de me donner la satisfaction de vous aller voir, pour passer chez vous la feste de la Visitation, comme l'année passée, en partant d'icy le dernier de ce mois. On m'apporta avant hier la relation imprimée de la vie et de la mort du frere Palemon. Je l'ay déjà lue avec beaucoup de plaisir et de satisfaction, voyant les merveilles et les bontés de Dieu a l'égard des plus grands pécheurs. Cela nous doit encourager, Je dis nous autres qui sommes dans le monde, d'esperer que la même providence qui a tellement favorisé

Sentena, et les autres freres Palemons, touchera nos cœurs a fin de vivre chrétiennement le reste de nos jours. C'est dans cette vüe que je vous fais visite toutes les années, et en attendant, je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de ceux de vôtre communauté, afin que je puisse profiter de la maniere édifiante dont vous vivez.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 14^e. du 29^e. Juillet. 95.

CETTE lettre vous doit être rendüe par un tres honneste homme, c'est l'envoie du grand Duc, que son maistre a ordonné de vous aller voir avant que de s'en retourner aupres de luy. J'ay esté bien aise de me servir de cette occasion pour vous écrire, et pour sçavoir de vos nouvelles. La Reine vous doit mander elle même

les raisons qui l'empêcheront de faire le voyage de La Trappe cet été, pour moy toutes les fois que j'y vâs, j'en reviens plus edifié que jamais, et trouve que ce voyage n'est tres necessaire de temps en temps, pour ne me relacher, à quoy tous ceux qui sont obligéz de vivre dans le grand monde sont bien sujets, et moy plus que les autres, quoique je fais autant que je puis, pour me souvenir des bons advis que vous m'avez donnéz, et que je vois plus clairement que jamais, qu'on ne peut être content en ce monde qu'en le meprisant. Je me recommande a vos bonnes prieres afin que je puisse perseverer a servir le bon Dieu jusqu'a la fin, selon l'obligation d'un bon chrétien.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 15^e. du 7^e. Aoust. 95.

LA lettre que vous m'envoiaſtes par Monſ. de Maux me fut rendüe le jour apres que je vous avois écrit, par l'envoié du grand Duc. Je vous remercie pour les deux papiers que vous m'avez envoyez, que je vous avois fait demander devant que de partir dechez vous. Vous avez grande raiſon de dire que lon ne ſcauroit trop ſouvent entendre parler des grandes veritez de nôtre Religion afin de ne pas ſe relâcher ; les gens du monde ayant bien beſoin qu'on leur en rafraichiffe la mémoire, et moy plus que les autres, ayant commencé ſi tard a m'appliquer tout de bon a faire mon ſalut. Je ſuis tres ſenſible que cette même raiſon me doit rendre plus ſoigneux et plus affidu a le faire, et y travailler ſans relâche, c'eſt le ſeul neceſſaire ; et n'empeche pas qu'on

ne fasse les affaires d'obligation de ce monde, ayant trouvé par experience que l'un n'empêche pas l'autre, au contraire ceux qui vivent chrétiennement ont plus de temps a eux. La mort subitte de Monf. l'Archevêque de Paris doit faire songer tout le monde a foy et a être toujours préparé, et pour cette fin, je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 16^e. du 9^e. Octobre. 95.

De Fontainebleau.

Vous voyéz que les divertissemens de ce lieu ne m'empêchent pas d'avoir envie de scavoir de vos nouvelles afin d'etre informé de létat de vôtre sancté, et pour vous dire en même temps que je trouve qu'il est tres necessaire de se souvenir de La Trappe, et de tout ce qu'on y a vû et ouy, pour ne se

pas laisser entraîner par le mauvais exemple de beaucoup de courtisans. Il ne laisse pas d'y en avoir qui vivent fort chrétiennement, et même de ceux qui occupent des postes très considérables, et qui ne s'effrayent n'y ne se découragent pas nonobstant le déchainement qu'il y a dans le monde contre ceux qui mènent une vie réglée. Il est vray que le Roy se declare pour les gens de bien ; comme il le fait voir par les promotions qu'il vient de faire de toutes sortes, et aussi par sa maniere de vivre, ce qui rend les autres bien inexcusables. En verité ils sont bien à plaindre, et je ne peux pas m'empêcher de m'étonner de ce que tant de personnes, et de l'un et de l'autre sexe qui paroissent en toutes autres choses avoir de très bon sens, se laissent entraîner par le mauvais exemple, et s'accoutument à songer si peu à l'éternité, au même temps qu'ils se donnent tant de peine pour

s'établir ; quand ils ne peuvent pas ignorer, qu'ils ne sont pas assurés de vivre un seul moment, ayant tous les jours devant leurs yeux des exemples si fréquens et si terribles, du peu de fond qu'on peut faire des plus grands établissemens qu'on a dans le monde. Il ne faudroit pas tant de peine pour être des grands saints. Je vis l'autre jour aux Camaldules Ducharmel ; qu'il est heureux de s'être retiré du monde, on n'a qu'à le voir, et qu'à luy parler pour en être bien persuadé. Il a un visage de sanctité, l'air qui est content, ce que les mondains n'ont jamais véritablement, quelque soin qu'ils prennent pour faire croire le contraire. Quelle difference entre ses anciens camarades du jeu, qu'ils sont à plaindre, qu'ils sont misérables. Je ne puis parler d'eux autrement ; assurément ceux qui sont nés de la lie du peuple, et que l'indigence oblige de se donner aux metiers les plus bas et

les plus penibles pour gagner leur vie, ne souffrent pas tant qu'eux, ceux la dorment mieux, mangent leur petite pitance avec un meilleur âpetit et plus regulierrem^t., et ne se chagrinent pas tant qu'eux, enfin a tout prendre sont plus heureux, ou pour le moins, moins miserables, et peuvent faire leurs salut dans l'etat ou ils sont, ce qui est impossible aux autres, a moins qu'ils ne suivent les exemples des Sentenas et de Ducharmel. C'est de même de ceux qui aiment les creatures plus que le Createur. Quand j'ay commencé cette lettre, je n'avois pas le dessein d'en tant dire sur ce sujet, mais voyant l'acharnement que trop de gens ont au jeu, je ne pouvois pas m'en empêcher, mais aussi de faire encore cette reflection que les Juifs quoique regardéz en tout temps comme des gens fort opigniatres, auront moins a répondre au dernier jour q'un tres grand nombre de chrétiens: car ceux la

bien souvent quand Dieu par sa misericorde les chatioit, ils retournoient a Dieu, et se repentoient de leurs pechez, ce que bien peu de chrétiens font de nos jours, quoyque presque toute l'Europe souffre encore, ou ont souffert par la guerre, des maladies qui emportoient autant de gens que la peste, et la famine; il faut finir, ce que je fais en me recommandant à la continuation de vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 17^e. du 12^e. Decembre. 95.

JE vois par la vôtre du 27^e. du mois passé qu'une lettre que je vous avois écrite de fontainebleau a esté perdue en chemin, puisque vous ne me mandez pas de l'avoir receüe. J'espere qu'a l'avenir cela n'arrivera plus. C'étoit pour sçavoir l'état de vôtre

sancté, et pour vous faire voir que les divertissemens de ce lieu là ne m'empechoient pas de me souvenir de vous, et du profit que j'ay fait par les voyages que j'ay fait chez vous. Je ne puis jamais assez louer le bon Dieu de m'avoir inspiré de voir La Trappe, et tant que je seray a portée de vous, je pretend me donner la satisfaction de vous voir tous les ans, pour renouveler mes bonnes intentions, et pour me fortifier dans les resolutions que j'ay prises. En attendant, je vous prie de me faire sçavoir de temps en temps de vos nouvelles, car quoy-qu'en toutes choses, on doit avoir une soumission et une resignation entiere à la volonté de Dieu, il est permis d'avoir de l'estime, et une amitié particuliere pour les gens de bien, et pour ceux qui nous aident à avoir cette paix, que le monde ne peut n'y donner ny oster, n'y même comprendre ; tant ils sont aveugléz

ne se donnant pas le temps de songer à l'avenir, n'ayant que le nom de Chrétien. Ce que vous dites à l'égard de la Reine est une grande vérité. Le bon Dieu ne manque pas de nous donner de la force de porter nos croix, en nous inspirant les mêmes sentimens, par les moyens des quels nous nous entraidons à les porter plus tranquillement. Je crois que vous ne serez pas fâché d'apprendre qu'un seigneur Anglois nouveau converti, et qui avoit des grands biens en Angleterre, et qui est mort depuis peu à Paris, est assurément mort de la mort des justes ; il y a environ dix à onze ans qu'il se fit catholique, et pour cette raison, quand la revolution arriva en Angleterre, il eût une tres belle maison au pays de Kent pillée et razée par la populace, et luy même fait prisonnier avec moy à Feversham, m'étant servi de luy pour m'aider à me sauver, et envoyé aussitôt à la tour

de Londres, ou il fut gardé deux ans, et ce me semble davantage. Aussitôt qu'il en sortit, il me vint trouver icy, et mena une vie fort réglée, et on vit à veüe d'œil qu'il se corrigeoit, que de hautin et de glorieux qu'il estoit, il prit tout a fait le contraire de ce vice qui estoit sa passion predominante. Apres sa mort, on a sçeu qu'il avoit fait il y a trois ans un voeu entre les mains de son confesseur, un pere Jesuite anglois, de faire tout ce qu'il croyoit pour la plus grande gloire de Dieu, et quelque temps apres, sa femme venant a mourir, il fit encore celuy de la chasteté, fit beaucoup d'aumônes, se mortifia beaucoup de toute maniere, enfin mena une vie fort chrétienne dans le monde, et mourut de même fort doucement sans aucune convulsion parlant jusqu'au dernier soupir. Je feray par quelq'un une relation de sa mort plus au long, et vous l'enverray aussitôt qu'elle sera

achevée. Je ne puis m'empêcher de faire une remarque sur ce sujet, c'est que tous ceux qui de protestans deviennent catholiques, changent de vie et de mœurs aussi bien que de religion, mais que ceux des nôtres qui sont pervertis, et deviennent protestans, mènent une vie plus déréglée qu'auparavant, et a la fin deviennent athées; et je n'ay jamais connu ou oui parler d'aucun de nos prestres ou moines qui soient venus en Angleterre ou y ont changé de religion, qui ne se soient tous débordés, ou ont mené une vie toute a fait scandaleuse et déréglée. Je ne dis pas cecy seulement par ouy dire, mais encore de ma propre connoissance et de l'aveu même des protestans, car un de leurs ministres de l'Eglise françois, de la Savoye a Londres contre qui le faux Lufancier avoit fait des plaintes a l'Evêque de Londres de ce quil avoit fait difficulté de l'assister de quelque

argent qu'il demandoit, me donna une liste de trente de ces Mess^{rs}. tous françois avec leurs comportements scandaleux, apres qu'ils avoient abjuré leur religion, et avoient receü des aumosnes ; pour se justifier de la difficulté qu'il fit de ne pas gratifier le faux Lufancier, pour ne pas donner leurs aumosnes qui estoient destinées pour le soulagement des pauvres. Le ministre s'appelloit Des marais, il estoit natif de lisle de Guernecy. Il ne faut pas s'étonner si ces pauvres miserables apres s'être une fois egaréz se laissent entraîner dans des precipices ou ils se perdent eternellement ; mais on doit s'étonner de ce que ceux qui sont encore si heureux de continuer à être catholiques vivent si peu conformément aux maximes de l'Evangile, se laissent éblouir et tromper par les fausses promesses du monde, de vivre heureux et contens, quand ils ne peuvent pas s'empêcher de voir que

jamais homme n'a esté content et sans chagrin (quelque grand quil puisse être) que ceux qui méprisent le monde, et aiment le bon Dieu, et par consequent ont une resignation entiere a la divine volonté. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 18^e. du 21^e. janvier. 96.

C'ESTOIT avec beaucoup de satisfaction que je reçus la vôtre du 21^e. du mois passé. Je fais tout ce que je puis pour perseverer dans les bons propos que le bon Dieu m'a donnés de menner une vie plus selon l'Evangile que je n'ay fait par le passé. Je vous envoie la relation que j'ay fait faire de la mort du Chevalier Hales, que je vous avois promis, comme aussi la coppie d'une lettre du R. P. Recteur

des Jesuistes anglois a Liege, d'un cas tres extraordinaire qui arriva dans cette ville. Ce que vous me mandéz de la mort du frere Zénon est fort edifiant et fort extraordinaire, peu de gens arrivent a ce haut point de perfection ; et dans le monde il est tres difficile d'y arriver parmy lembarras des affaires et les devoirs de son état, principalement pour les grands, et ceux qui n'ont pas commencé a vivre de bonne heure regulierement, et en bon chrétien. Il faut toujours tacher a faire de son mieux, et outre les croix que le bon Dieu nous envoie se mortifier soy même, c'est ce que j'apprehende que je ne fais pas assez, et ne suis pas content de moy même a cet égard, et il me semble que j'y suis plus obligé qu'un autre, ayant mené une vie peu conforme aux devoirs d'un bon chrétien pour bien des années ; vous vous souvenéz que la derniere fois que j'eüs la satisfaction

de vous voir, je vous parlay sur ce même fujet. Je le repete encore et vous prie de me donner vos sentimens la dessus ; j'ay bien envie de faire mon devoir, et d'avancer toujours selon lobligation d'un veritable chrétien, étant plus convaincu que jamais, qu'il n'y a que l'amour de Dieu qui peut rendre les gens heureux et contents en ce monde icy aussi bien qu'en l'autre. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et noubliez pas la Reine et mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 19^e. du 3^e. mars. 96.

De Calais.

Je partis si a la haste de St. Germain que je n'avois pas le temps de vous écrire alors pour me recommander a vos bonnes prieres. Je le fais presente-

ment, et quoyque je fois arrivé icy, je ne ſçay pas encore ſi je paſſeray ou non, nonobſtant que tout eſt preſt pour l'embarquement, et a vous dire la verité, ſans quil plaife au bon Dieu de ſ'y meſler viſiblement pour ſa plus grande gloire, l'affaire ne reüſſira pas dans l'aſſiette ou tout eſt preſentement. Dieu eſt un Dieu jaloux, et veut nous tenir dans l'attente et l'incertitude, afin de faire paroître a tout le monde qu'il eſt le Dieu des armées, et que l'homme ne doit pas ſ'appüyer ſur ſa force ou ſur ſoy même, mais uniquement ſur ſa ſainte volonté, mais je ſçay que cela n'empêche pas qu'on ne faſſe ce que l'on peut en bon chrétien pour r'avoir ſon bien, même je croy qu'on y eſt obligé, quand ont croit que lon a en vüe le bien de nôtre religion. Que nous ſerons heureux ſi nous pouvons hazarder nos vies pour une ſi bonne cauſe, pour un Dieu qui a tant ſouffert, et a la fin a

souffert sur la Croix pour nous sauver. Ces pensées nous doivent soutenir dans toutes nos souffrances, et nous faire porter nos plus grandes croix avec patience, et baiser la main qui nous frappe, et de nous soumettre avec une résignation entière, mêlée de joie, à sa sainte volonté. Je tâcheray autant que ma faiblesse me permettra pratiquer ce que je viens d'écrire, pour cet effet je me recommande à vos bonnes prières, afin qu'il plaise au bon Dieu de me donner la grace de le faire.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 20^e. du 12^e. may. 96.

ME voicy de retour de Boulogne de puis quelques jours. Le bon Dieu n'a pas voulu me rétablir encore. Que sa s^{te} volonté soit toujours faite. C'est à nous à nous y soumettre sans mur-

mure ny chagrin. Le projet étoit tres bien concerté, et jay eu les mêmes obligations au Roy mon frere comme si il avoit reüßy, ayant fait de son costé tout ce qui dependoit de luy, mais Dieu qui est le maistre des vents aussi bien que de tout le reste, n'a pas voulu qu'il nous ait été favorable, n'y dans la Manche ny dans la Méditerranée, son nom en soit loué. Mais ce qui me touche sensiblement, est ce que souffrent presentement mes amis dans les trois royaumes, quelque-uns ayant desja été pendus, on fait le procès encore a d'autres, et ils tiennent encore en prison un tres grand nombre d'autres de toutes sortes, c'est a dire de ceux qu'ils croient être dans mes intersts. Les prisons ordinaires n'estant pas assés grandes ny dans la ville de Londres ny dans les provinces pour les contenir, ils ont esté obligés d'en faire faire d'autres quils ont remplies, et quoyqu'on doive tout souffrir

avec patience et resignation, on ne peut pas s'empêcher d'être fort touché des souffrances de ces Mess^{rs}. là qui souffrent pour leur fidélité envers moy. Il y en a desja cinq de mis a mort tant protestans que catholiques qui sont tous morts avec beaucoup de fermeté et de courage, comme on a vû par des écrits quils ont laissés, signés de leurs mains propres, et imprimés même par la permission du gouvernement. Dieu a fait la grace a un de ceux là de se faire catholique en prison, et il eut le bonheur d'être reconcilié devant sa mort. Que la miséricorde de Dieu est grande envers ceux qui le cherchent de bon cœur, et je veux esperer nonobstant tout ce qui vient d'arriver qu'il rétablira un jour nôtre s^{te}. Religion dans mes trois royaumes, pour le moins du temps de mon fils, fil ne veut pas se servir de moy pour cette fin; enfin je me remets entierrem^t entre ses mains,

de tels exemples de piété et de mortification que l'on voit a La Trappe pour s'affermir dans les bonnes résolutions qu'on a prises de mener une vie plus chrétienne que par le passé, ce que par la grace du bon Dieu je tacheray de faire autant que ma foiblesse me le permettra. La Reine vous écrit elle-même, vous voyez comme elle est contente du voyage qu'elle a fait, j'espère qu'elle en profitera et suivra les bons avis que vous luy avéz donnéz. Enfin elle est penetrée de tout ce qu'elle a vû et ouy chez vous, et fort contente de vous, du nouveau Abbé, et de toute la communauté, comme le seront tous ceux qui vous connoîtront. A mon retour icy j'ay trouvé mon fils tout a fait guéri de l'ebullition du sang et de la fièvre; depuis trois jours ma fille a eü le même mal, mais Dieu mercy cela est presque passé, et nous voila hors d'inquietude

d'Angleterre. 51

que le bon Dieu m'a inspiré chez vous. Je ne puis pas vous dire encore positivement le temps, mais je vous en avertirai quelques jours avant.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 21^e. du 18^e. juin. 96.

Je vous envoie par ce porteur l'Abbé d'Avia les copies des papiers que je vous avais promis, par lesquelles vous verrez la fermeté et la fidélité de quelques uns de ces messieurs qui ont été mis à mort à Londres. Je me sers de cette occasion aussi pour vous dire qu'on est toujours édifié de plus en plus de tout ce que l'on voit chez vous, et qu'il m'est fort nécessaire d'y aller pour me fortifier de temps en temps, car vivant dans le grand monde comme je suis obligé de faire, on a besoin

de tels exemples de piété et de mortification que l'on voit a La Trappe pour s'affermir dans les bonnes résolutions qu'on a prises de mener une vie plus chrétienne que par le passé, ce que par la grace du bon Dieu je tacheray de faire autant que ma foiblesse me le permettra. La Reine vous écrit elle-même, vous voyez comme elle est contente du voyage qu'elle a fait, j'espère qu'elle en profitera et suivra les bons avis que vous luy avéz donnéz. Enfin elle est penetrée de tout ce qu'elle a vû et ouy chez vous, et fort contente de vous, du nouveau Abbé, et de toute la communauté, comme le feront tous ceux qui vous connôîtront. A mon retour icy j'ay trouvé mon fils tout a fait guéri de l'ebullition du sang et de la fièvre; depuis trois jours ma fille a eü le même mal, mais Dieu mercy cela est presque passé, et nous voila hors d'inquietude

sur ce fujet. Je me recommande moy et ma famille a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 22^e. du 20^e. juillet. 96.

L'ABBÉ D'AVIA me rendit la vôtre du 21^e. juin, des qu'il fut de retour de La Trappe, tres content de son voiage, comme font tous ceux qui le font. Je ne sçauois afféz benir le bon Dieu de m'avoir inspiré d'y avoir esté toutes les années de puis mon retour d'Irland, afin de me fortifier de plus en plus dans les voies de ses commandements, et de supporter avec patience les croix qu'il luy a plû de m'envoyer de temps en temps; selon les apparences j'en auray encore dans peu, car le traitté qui vient d'être fait avec la Savoye pouroit avoir des suittes,

qui en parlant selon le monde, ne me feront pas fort avantageuses ; car quoy que le Roy ait la même amitié et considération qu'il a toujours eüe, et qu'il a fait voir tant de fois, neanmoins l'état dans lequel ses affaires pourront être reduites pourroit l'obliger a faire des pas pour le bien et le repos de son royaume, quil aura de la repugnance a faire, et qui luy donneront peutêtre plus de chagrin qu'a moy, puisque j'ay été accoutumé des ma jeunesse aux revers de la fortune, et que je regarde le tout comme la volonté du bon Dieu, qui au même temps qu'il nous donne des croix, nous donne de la force pour les supporter, particulièrement si nous les recevons avec la resignation que nous luy devons, et qu'il attend de nous. Enfin j'espere qu'il me fera la grace de ne m'impatisenter de rien qui me peût arriver, puisque c'est par les

souffrances que l'on doit arriver a la gloire, et que sans souffrir d'une maniere ou d'une autre, on ne peut pas être un veritable Chrétien. Vous voyez que je vous parle a cœur ouvert, et ce n'est qu'a vous que je l'ay encore fait, car on ne m'a pas encore rien dit de la part de la Cour de toutes les negotiations qui sont sur pieds, c'est pourquoy il est necessaire de me garder le secret, dès que j'en feray plus éclairé, je vous fairay part de ce qui me regardera, et me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres et de ceux de toute la communauté.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 23^e. du 28^e. septembre. 96.

C'EST mon tour a cette heure de vous écrire, ceque je fais toujours avec beaucoup de plaisir, et comme vous prenez tant de part a tout ce

qui me regarde, je veux vous faire sçavoir qu'il y a quelque temps que le Roy m'envoya Mons. de Pom-pone pour m'avertir que l'Abbé de Polignac luy avoit rendu compte que les Polonnois avoient quelques pensées pour moy dans l'élection qu'ils devoient faire bientôt, et que même dans les Diettes particulieres qu'on avoit faites dans quelques unes des provinces, ils avoient parlé de me nommer pour leur Roy a l'assemblée generale qui se doit tenir bientôt. A la verité, je suis bien obligé a ceux de cette nation qui y ont pensé, et je conserveray tant que je vivray la reconnoissance que je leur dois, et quoyque le Roy n'ait fait rien que de m'en avertir, nean-moins j'ay raison de croire que si j'avois gousté l'affaire, il y auroit donné les mains avec autant d'amitié et de generosité qu'il m'a fait paroître en toutes rencontres depuis

mon arrivée icy, de l'Angleterre; et quand je luy en ay parlé moy-même l'autre jour, et luy ay donné mes raisons pour ne le pas accepter au cas qu'on me l'offrit, et bien loing de le briguer; il me dit qu'il s'estoit bien attendu que je prendrois ce party la. Beaucoup de mes amis qui ne sont pas mes sujets m'ont conseillé de l'accepter, mais quand je leurs eûs fait voir, qu'en le faisant ce seroit une veritable abdication, ils n'ont plus eû rien a dire, et pour mes sujets que j'ay consultéz tous, hormis un, étoient du même sentiment que moy, et ce seul, quand je luy avois fait voir que ce seroit une abdication formelle, n'avoit pas de quoy repliquer; enfin j'ay pris mon party. J'aime mieux demeurer comme je suis, quoyque presentement il y ait moins d'apparence que jamais de mon rétablissement, étant pleinement persuadé, que ce seroit

perdre entierrement les affaires de la religion et de ma famille, d'en prendre un autre, esperant bien qu'un jour le bon Dieu me retablira moy ou mon fils dans tous nos droits, sçachant bien que quand il luy plait, il le peut faire quand on s'y attend le moins, et que fil ne luy plait pas de le faire, quand tous les roys de la terre se seroient ligués pour cette effet, ils ne serviroient de rien. Enfin, je me mets entierrement entre les mains de Dieu, quil fasse de moy et des miens tout ce quil luy plaira, son S^t. Nom soit toujours loué. En attendant je fais ce que je puis pour être Chretien d'effet aussi bien que de nom, et afin d'y parvenir, je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de ceux de v^{otre} communauté. Je vous prie de noublier pas la Reine et mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 24^e. du 20^e. octobre. 96.

A MON arrivée icy vôtre neveu me rendit la vôtre du 4^e., et je suis presentement fort a mon aise par la reponse que vous m'avez faite aux difficultéz que je vous avois proposé, et je lis toutes vos lettres avec beaucoup de satisfaction, puis qu'elles me fortifient tant dans les sentimens que j'ay de tâcher de vivre par l'aide du bon Dieu, en bon Chrétien ; cela est facile a dire mais tres difficile a y parvenir pour ceux qui vivent dans le grand monde, et qui sont obligés a y rester ; mais a present, je ne m'etenderay plus sur ce sujet, ayant seulement le temps de vous dire que la Reine s'est trouvée mal depuis huit jours, d'une colique qui ne l'a pas encore tout a fait quittée, quoy qu'elle se porte un peu mieux, et qu'il y a lieu d'esperer que sa santé se rétablira tout a fait

dans deux ou trois jours, si bien que avant la fin de la semaine qui va entrer, nous pourons retourner a nôtre solitude de S^t. Germain, car c'en est une veritablement au prix de la Cour et de la vie qu'on y menne. La Reine ma prié de vous dire qu'elle a receü la vôtre du 15^e., mais qu'elle n'est pas en état d'y répondre presentement. Elle se recommande a vos bonnes prieres, j'en fais de même pour moy quoy que Dieu mercy, en bonne santé. Cette cy vous sera donnée ou envoyée par le petit frere Chanvier, qui a ce qu'il m'a dit doit partir demain. Je n'ay pas le temps de vous en dire davantage.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 25^e. du mois de janvier. 96.

J'AY lû avec beaucoup de plaisir des instructions que vous avez faites

pour la conduite d'une dame de la première qualité qui m'est tombé entre les mains il y a quelque temps. Assûrement il n'y a rien de mieux écrit, et qui ait esté mieux suivy par la même dame, selon qu'on a pu juger par la vie distinguée qu'elle a menné dans le grand monde, ou il est difficile de le faire. Je l'ay lûe et relûe, et tacheray d'en profiter autant que ma foiblesse me le permettra. Je crois que j'y ay trouvé dans la coppie que j'ay lûe, un endroit qui a été mal coppié, que je vous envoie, afin que vous vouliez bien vous donner la peine de le mettre comme il me paroît qu'il doit être, selon le véritable sens, car de la manière qu'il est, on pourroit le tourner en un sens à vôtre désavantage. J'ay montré la coppie que je vous envoie à deux ou trois habiles gens, sans pourtant les laisser scavoir que c'estoit de vous à chacun a

devant que je fus fort incommodé d'un tres grand rûme, accompagné d'une fievre qui me dura deux ou trois jours, mais le rûme ne m'a pas quitté que jusqu'au degel. Je ne me suis pas hasté de vous répondre devant le départ des pleinpotentialaires, car jusqu'a ce que ce pas fût fait, on pouvoit douter de la paix, mais presentem^t. selon les apparences elle fera bientôt conclüe, puisqu'on a fait de si grandes avances de ce costé cy, et que cela parôit absolu^mt. necessaire pour le prince d'Orange; enfin arrive ce qui pourra, je ne seray pas surpris, le bon Dieu m'ayant fait la grace d'être preparé pour tout; il scait mieux que nous ce qui nous convient, et ce qui est pour la plus grande gloire. Que sa volonté soit faite. Il est un bon Maître, qui ne manquera pas de recompenser ceux qui le servent de bon cœur, et qui se donnent en-

nauté, en ayant bien besoin. Pour ce qui regarde l'affaire de la paix, ils continuent dans le même état, et quoique le Roy a nommé Mons. de Croissy, dans la place de Mons. de Courtin, les passeports ne sont pas encore arrivés, ny le lieu du congrès nommé, si bien que chacun de son côté se prepare pour continuer la guerre, a fin d'obtenir une paix plus avantageuse. Dieu seul sçait encore ce qui en fera, a quoy il nous faut soumettre sans murmurer en aucune façon. La Reine vous fait mil complimens et se recommande a vos bonnes prieres. N'oubliez pas nos enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 26^e. du 3^e. mars. 97.

VÔTRE lettre du dix^e. de janvier ne me fut rendüe qu'un jour ou deux

devant que je fus fort incommodé d'un tres grand rûme, accompagné d'une fievre qui me dura deux ou trois jours, mais le rûme ne m'a pas quitté que jusqu'au degel. Je ne me suis pas hasté de vous répondre devant le départ des pleinpotentialres, car jusqu'a ce que ce pas fût fait, on pouvoit douter de la paix, mais presentem^t. selon les apparences elle fera bientôt conclüe, puisqu'on a fait de si grandes avances de ce costé cy, et que cela parôit absolu^t. necessaire pour le prince d'Orange; enfin arrive ce qui pourra, je ne seray pas surpris, le bon Dieu m'ayant fait la grace d'être preparé pour tout; il scait mieux que nous ce qui nous convient, et ce qui est pour la plus grande gloire. Que sa volonté soit faite. Il est un bon Maître, qui ne manquera pas de recompenser ceux qui le servent de bon cœur, et qui se donnent en-

tierrem^t. a luy ; que peut on sou-
haitter davantage ! Je crois qu'on
vous auroit desja envoyé un im-
primé qui me regarde, mais de peur
que l'on ne l'ait pas fait, je vous en
envoye un, il a desja passé La Mer.
on mande de Londres que le Prince
Dorange a ordonné d'y faire faire
une reponse, nous l'attendons au
premier jour, et vous l'aurez dès
qu'elle sera arrivée. Je vous prie
de me faire sçavoir de vos nouvelles,
et comme vous vous êtes porté du-
rant tout le grand froid. Je me
recommande a la continuation de
vos bonnes prieres, faites en de
même pour mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 27^e. du 3^e. mai. 97.

JE prend mes mesures pour avoir
la fatisfaction de vous voir la se-

Lettre 28^e. du 4^e. octobre. 97.

QUELQUES jours devant mon départ de St. Germain pour venir icy, je recûs vôtres lettres qui étoient fort propres pour moy, particulièrement dans l'état présent de mes affaires, étant à la veille d'apprendre la signature de la paix, et pour cette raison, J'ay attendu de vous faire réponse jusqu'à ce que cela fut fait. Le Roy en recut la nouvelle le même jour que la Reine et moy arrivâmes icy, qui fut le 24 du mois passé. Il y a longtemps que vous sçavez que nous y étions préparés, si bien que cela ne me surprit nullement, et je suis assuré que le Roy eut plus de chagrin pour me le dire, que moy de l'entendre, car quoy qu'il s'est cru obligé pour le bien de ses affaires de donner la paix à toute l'Europe, et de faire le pas qu'il a fait, il n'a pas esté sans chagrin de se croire

souvent plus des parolles de Nôtre Seigneur, qu'il faut renoncer a foy-même, porter sa Croix, et le suivre. J'ay été autre fois une brebis égarée, et je suis par la Misericorde du bon Dieu penetré de mes égaremens passéz, et ne puis jamais assez reconnoître la bonté qu'il a eüe pour moy en m'envoyant tant de Croix, estant bien aise de souffrir en ce monde plutôt que dans l'autre. Je vous demande la continuation de vos bonnes prieres pour me soutenir dans les efforts que je fais pour me servir des graces que Dieu ma données de me soumettre entierement et sans murmure, a tout ce quil luy plaist ordonner de moy. La Reine ne vous écrit pas a cette heure, mais elle pretend le faire quand j'iray chez vous, en attendant elle se recommande a vos bonnes prieres, bien fachée de n'être pas du voyage.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 28^e. du 4^e. octobre. 97.

QUELQUES jours devant mon départ de St. Germain pour venir icy, je recûs vôtre lettre qui étoit fort propre pour moy, particulierrem^t. dans l'état present de mes affaires, étant a la veille d'apprendre la signature de la paix, et pour cette raison, J'ay attendu de vous faire réponse jusqu'a ce que cela fut fait. Le Roy en recut la nouvelle le même jour que la Reine et moy arrivâmes icy, qui fut le 24 du mois passé. Il y a longtemps que vous sçavez que nous y étions préparés, si bien que cela ne me surprit nullem^t., et je suis assure que le Roy eut plus de chagrin pour me le dire, que moy de l'entendre, car quoy qu'il s'est crû obligé pour le bien de ses affaires de donner la paix a toute l'Europe, et de faire le pas qu'il a fait, il n'a pas esté sans chagrin de se croire

obligé de le faire, par l'amitié qu'il a pour moy, et l'amour de la justice; et quand Bentink a la conference qu'il eut avec Mons. de Boufflers pressa fort ma sortie de la France, le Roy eut la consideration et bonté pour moy de couper court sur ce point, et declara qu'il ne vouloit pas entendre de paix si le Prince d'Orange insistoit sur cette article; enfin le Roy comme il m'a dit luy même fera tout cequ'il pourra pour me rendre le coup plus supportable, mais si le Roy des Roys n'eût eu la bonté de me donner cette resignation que j'ay je n'aurois jamais esté si a mon aise que je suis. Je suis tres obligé a beaucoup de gens de mes amis qui me plaignent pour l'état present de mes affaires, mais il y a parmy ceux la quelques uns pour qui je suis plus en peine de ce qu'ils se mettent si peu en devoir de scavoir les devoirs du christianisme et par consequent

ne les pratiquent pas, ce sont ceux la qui sont veritablem^t. a plaindre, et qui ne peuvent pas être heureux ou contens en ce monde, tant qu'ils ne tachent point a menner une vie que Nôtre Seigneur nous a tracé. Pour ce qui est de moy, vous m'avez assez instruit de vive voix, par vos lettres, et par ceque j'ay vû chez vous pour ce que je devois faire, mais je suis honteux de ne pas mieux y reüssir. La volonté ne me manque pas, mais je suis tres sensible que je n'approche pas de menner une vie telle qu'il faudroit. Je me recom-mande a vos bonnes prieres, afin que je puisse avancer dans la voie étroite de la pieté, et porter toutes les croix qu'il plaira au bon Dieu de m'en-voyer, avec patience et même avec joye, et a fin de le mieux faire, de puis mon arrivée icy, j'ay commencé a lire vôtre conduite chrétienne adressée a deffunte Madame de Guise,

et je tâcheray tant quil me sera possible d'en profiter, estant tres sensible que si je fais de mon côté ce que je dois, que le bon Dieu par sa grande misericorde aura pitié de moy dans l'autre monde, tout grand pecheur que je suis, étant penetré de douleur de l'avoir si grièvement offensé pendant tant d'années de suite, et que je merite des Croix bien plus pesantes que celles qu'il m'a déjà données. Je dois m'en retourner a Saint germain mardy qui vient, d'ou la Reine vous écrira aussitôt qu'elle y fera de retour, en attendant elle se recommande a vos bonnes prieres. Je vous prie en même temps de ne pas oublier mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 29^e. du 15^e. mars. 98.

J'ETOIS bien ravy l'autre jour de voir le frere Janvier et d'apprendre

falloit envoyer ce dernier coup de la main de Dieu qui me fît perdre trois royaumes, pour me faire connoître les veritables devoirs d'un veritable Chrétien ; c'est ce que l'on apprend difficilement dans le tumulte et le bruit du monde ; la folitude y est neccessaire ; c'est ceque je n'avois jamais bien vû ny confideré devant d'avoir esté a La Trappe, ou l'on voit ce que c'est que la veritable mortification, et de quitter le monde, et il me falloit ce voyage pour me donner la connoissance de moy-même, et pour me faire mepriser tout cequi paroît grand dans le monde, et ne s'y attacher pas. Je ne vous diray plus rien a cette heure sur ce sujet, mais pour ce qui me regarde pour le temporel, comme vous prenez beaucoup de part en tout cequi me touche, vous aurez été bien aise d'apprendre que le Roy a refusé tout court la proposition que le Prince

culté quil y a de vivre dans le grand monde et dans les affaires, sans suivre que trop ses maximes et ses manieres de vivre, a moins de quelque revers de fortune, ou quelque vocation extraordinaire que le bon Dieu nous envoie par sa bonté, pour nousveiller de l'assoupissement. ou nous estions abisméz, et pour nous ouvrir les yeux. Cela m'est arrivé plus d'une fois, car sans la revolution qui arriva a la fin du reigne du feu Roy mon Pere, qui m'obligea a l'age d'environ quinze ans de passer la mer pour me sauver de prison, et de rester les douze années devant le retablissement. de feu Roy mon Pere, la pluspart du temps dans des pays catholiques, ou selon toutes fortes d'apparences, Je n'aurois jamais sceu les veritez de nôtre S^{te}. religion et quoy que même devant mon second mariage, J'avois esté reconcilié, et que je tâchois de mener une vie plus réglée, il me

falloit envoyer ce dernier coup de la main de Dieu qui me fît perdre trois royaumes, pour me faire connoître les veritables devoirs d'un veritable Chrétien ; c'est ce que l'on apprend difficilement dans le tumulte et le bruit du monde ; la solitude y est neccessaire ; c'est ceque je n'avois jamais bien vû ny considéré devant d'avoir esté a La Trappe, ou l'on voit ce que c'est que la veritable mortification, et de quitter le monde, et il me falloit ce voyage pour me donner la connoissance de moy-même, et pour me faire mepriser tout cequi paroît grand dans le monde, et ne s'y attacher pas. Je ne vous diray plus rien a cette heure sur ce sujet, mais pour ce qui me regarde pour le temporel, comme vous prenez beaucoup de part en tout cequi me touche, vous aurez été bien aise d'apprendre que le Roy a refusé tout court la proposition que le Prince

d'Orange luy fit faire par son ambassadeur de me faire sortir de ce royaume, quoy qu'au traité de Ryf-vik on n'en avoit point parlé, ayant fait voir en cette occasion aussi bien qu'en beaucoup d'autres, la consideration et lamitié qu'il a pour moy, qu'il a fait voir en bien des rencontres aussi bien qu'en cette derniere, et a la quelle je ne manqueray jamais de reconnoissance. Au reste quoy qu'il nous arrive de nouvelles croix tous les jours, il ne faut pas s'en plaindre, mais les regarder comme autant de marques de la misericorde du bon Dieu pour nôtre plus grand bien. La Reine se recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres et je vous prie n'oubliez pas mes enfans. Je pretend me donner encore la satisfaction de vous aller voir, et ne manqueray pas de vous en advertir devant.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 30^e. du 19^e. juin. 98.

JE n'ay pas répondu plutôt a vôtre dernière lettre que vous m'ecrivistes que je recûs au commencem^t. de May, quand j'étois incommodé, a cause que je ne voulus pas le faire jusqu'a ce que je fus tout a fait remis, et que j'eusse pris mes mesures pour me donner la satisfaction de vous aller voir, ce que je pretend faire fil plaît a Dieu pour la Nôtre Dame de Juillet, en partant d'icy le dernier de Juin, pour arriver chez vous le premier de Juillet. Jay designé de coucher a Aunet, affin d'arriver moins fatigué chez vous, et la Reine doit aller en meme temps a Chaillot pour y passer cette feste et y demeurer jusqu'a mon retour. Le bon Dieu nous envoie presque tous les jours de nouvelles croix qu'il faut tâcher a recevoir et a supporter selon nôtre devoir, mais cette dernière nous est plus

sensible, puis que cela regarde en general nôtre S^{te}. religion, car les actes du parlement que le Prince d'Orange fit passer en Irland durant le temps du cong^rés de Ryfvick pour déraciner nôtre S^{te}. religion, de ce pays sont desja mis en execution, par Ruvigny qui y commande en chef, étant desja arrivé en France environ quatre cens moines, un evêque ; enfin de la maniere qu'on s'y prend, en peu d'années, a moins que le bon Dieu n'y mette la main, il restera peu de catholiques en ce pays là, et si sa sainteté et les Princes catholiques ne se reveillent, les Protestans fairont tous les jours de nouveaux progrès par tout. Voila tout ce que je vous diray sur ce sujet presentem^t. Benthink prit son dernier congé du Roy dimanche passé, et partit de Paris mardy pour s'en retourner par Chantilly en Angleterre, aupres du Prince d'Orange son maître. Dans ce mo-

ment je fus agreablem^t. surpris par l'arrivée de Mons. Maine étant toujours bien aisé de voir un si honneste homme que luy, et qui vient de chez vous ; il ne demeura icy que tres peu de temps étant obligé de retourner a Versailles avec l'Abbé Boilleau. J'ay esté bien fâché d'apprendre que vous n'etiez pas gueri de vôtre toux dont il m'a dit que vous étiez tres incommodé les nuits, j'espere que le chaud qu'il fait presentem^t. vous guerira, et que je vous trouveray soulagé de ce mal a mon arrivée chez vous. Je luy ay dit le temps que je prétend m'y rendre. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, je n'en ay jamais eû plus de besoin pour les raisons que je vous ay desja données, et d'autres que je vous diray quand je vous voiray. La Reine vous recommande le même pour elle, je vous les demande aussy pour mes enfans, c'est demain le

jour de la naissance de mon fils, il aura dix ans complets.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 31^e. du 26^e. septembre. 98.

JE ne me suis pas fort pressé de vous écrire de puis mon retour de chez vous, ayant eu envie de scavoir devant que de le faire comment se finiroit l'affaire de l'Etrée; a mon arrivée icy, j'ay trouvé qu'on ne voulut pas en entendre parler n'y d'aucune proposition de cette nature, si bien que tout ce que je pouvois faire, c'étoit tout doucem^t. de tâcher a disculper le nouveau Abbé de ce que son zele pour l'augmentation de leur reforme en d'autres endroits, l'avoit poussé a faire un peu brusquement ce pas; depuis cela jay esté fort mortifié d'avoir appris l'affaire des Clerets qui fait bien du

bruit a son defavantage. On m'a dit que cette affaire étoit entre les mains de Mons. l'Archevêque de Paris, mais il y a apparence qu'au retour du Roy, elle fera terminée, et je crois que vous en serez averty plutôt que moy. J'espere que cela finira a vôtre satisfaction, et pour le bien de toute cette communauté m'interessant autant que je fais en tout ce qui vous regarde. J'ay fait un voyage a Compiègne pendant que le Roy y fut, et il y a quelques jours que je suis revenu tres content de la continuation de l'amitié du Roy, et de la beauté et bon état de ses troupes. Luymême et ceux qui les ont vûes en sont tres contents, et avec raison, et on ne scauroit assez admirer le zele de tous les officiers qui ont fait tant de dépence pour se mettre en état, eux et leurs compagnies a fin de plaire au Roy, et gagner ses bonnes grâces, cela leur est fort loüable

et leur devoir. Je souhaite de tout mon cœur qu'ils voulussent faire de même pour plaire au Roy des Roys, l'un est leur devoir aussi bien que l'autre. Malheur a ceux qui ne le font pas, et heureux tous ceux qui font tous leurs efforts pour le faire. Le Roy a esté de retour a Versailles depuis mercredi passé, et prétend partir pour fontainebleau le deux^e. doctobre ; la Reine et moy devons le suivre la semaine d'apres. La persecution en Irland continue bien fort contre les Catholiques, et si le bon Dieu n'y met la main promptem^t., en peu de temps notre S^{te}. religion y sera extirpée, ou elle est plus considerable que dans les autres royaumes ; et alors, il y a que trop de raison a craindre que le Prince d'Orange tâchera a faire la même chose en Angleterre, ce qui luy sera facile de faire, puis que les loix qui y sont desja, sont suffisantes pour le

faire, en les mettant en execution, cequ'il n'a pas fait jusqu'a cette heure, pour garder quelques mesures avec Mefs. les Princes Catholiques, pour les tromper, et mieux conduire les projets. Je pourois m'entendre sur ce sujet mais c'est assez pour cette heure; il faut tâcher a supporter tout ce qui nous arrive en bon chrétien, et pour cela vous demander la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de tous ceux de vôtre sainte maison, pour la Reine, mes enfans, et moy.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 32^e. du 29^e. decembre. 98.

JE ne me suis pas hasté de vous faire scavoir que j'avois recü la vôtre du 22^e. de Novembre jusqu'a ceque j'eüs appris que le Roy avoit accepté la demission du nouveau Abbé, et quil a eü tant de consideration pour

vous et les vôtres, que d'approuver et nommer un de votre sainte communauté en sa place ; par là j'espère que tout continuera comme vous l'avez établi avec tant de réputation et de sainteté, nonobstant le bruit sourd qui n'avoit courru que trop parmy quelques uns, de ce qui s'y étoit passé. Enfin on n'a qu'à vivre dans le monde pour estre convaincu, que tant que nous resterons dans cette vallée de larmes, que tout n'est que misère et vexation d'esprit, et que les plus saints lieux même ne sont pas exempts des mortifications, à quoy on ne s'attendoit pas, outre celles qu'ils se sont données volontairement. qui arrivent pour la plupart pour la plus grande sanctification de ceux parmy eux qui les reçoivent avec une véritable soumission et patience à toutes ces épreuves ; car ils savent qu'il faut qu'il arrive des scandales, et que malheur à ceux par qui ils

arrivent ; et il n'y en arrive que trop tous les jours ; n'y ayant point de retraittes, point de communauté a l'abry de ces coups de vents, de ces fortes de tempestes, qui s'elevant inopinément, et quand on n'y pense le moins. La persecution continue encore tres fortement contre les Catholiques en Irland. Il n'y a que trop de raison a craindre qu'elle ne commencera en Angleterre que trop tôt, puisque le Prince d'Orange y est de retour et son parlement assemblé ; il est vray que jusqu'a present il les avoit laisséz assez tranquilleme^t. en ce pays là, par la consideration quil avoit de ses alliéz Catholiques, et le besoin qu'il en avoit pour venir about de ses desseins, mais a cette heure quil a fait la paix partout, et qu'il se regarde comme bien étably en toute maniere, il n'y a que trop de raisons a croire quil ne gardera plus de mesures a l'egard

des Catholiques, puis que c'est son interest de toutes manieres (aussy bien que ce l'étoit de la Reine Elisabeth d'Angleterre), et que ses inclinations l'y portent, car il a esté élevé Calviniste, ce que l'autre n'avoit point esté, et se trouvant a la teste de Princes et Estats protestans, il se joindra avec eux pour l'augmentation de leur secte et heresie, et la ruine de nôtre sainte religion ; et ce seroit un grand point gagné de l'extirper de mes trois Royaumes. En fin il n'y a que le bon Dieu qui le puisse empecher dans l'état ou sont presentem^t. les Princes, et Etats catholiques, et il ne nous reste qu'a nous soumettre a sa divine providence avec patience et sans murmure, car ses voyes sont justes et ses desseins impenetrables, et pour surcroît a tout, nous sommes accabléz de beaucoup de Catholiques des trois royaumes, bannis et chasséz de leurs

pays, qui ne peuvent pas y retourner, particulierem^t. des Irlandois qui sont en tres grand nombre, et prests a mourir de faim, sans être en état de leurs fournir a tous. Enfin la Reine et moy vous demandons, a vous et aux vôtres de continuer vos s^{ts}. prieres pour nous, et noubliez pas nos enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 33^e. du 29^e. May. 99.

Si ce n'eut esté pour un grand rûme dont Je fus attaqué la semaine passée avec la fièvre en même temps, qui m'obligea a me faire seigner tout au commencem^t., je m'étois proposé de vous faire une visîte cette semaine de l'Ascension, mais comme la plus part de ceux qui ont esté incommodéz de ce même mal cette année, ont eü de la peine a se remettre, et que cela m'auroit fort

affoibly, jay esté obligé a la differer pour quelque temps ; dont j'ay esté bien fâché, souhaittant fort d'avoir le plaisir et la satisfaction de vous revoir, ceque je pretend faire s'il plait au bon Dieu vers la Nôtre dame de Juillet ; mais je vous en avertiray encore quelques jours devant, car en ce monde on n'est fur de rien. La Reine fut attaquée d'une colique ne fretique ou billeuse vers la fin de la semaine passée, dont elle fut tres incommodée pendant deux jours, et a eü de la peine a se remettre, et même cela l'a empêché d'aller selon la coûtume la veille de l'Ascension a Chailliot ; il nous arrive des croix de toutes sortes de manieres, le bon Dieu en soit loüé, il faut que ce soit pour nôtre bien puisqu'il luy plait de l'ordonner ainsi ; c'est un bon Pere qui sçait ce qui est bon pour nous, et en tout il faut s'y soumettre sans plainte ny murmure,

et tâcher a ne s'impatienter pour rien de cette nature, et de ne craindre quoy quil soit, que d'offencer le bon Dieu, et tâcher de hanter autant que l'on peut, les gens de bien, se souvenant de cequi est dit dans les Pleaumes, qu'avec les saints on apprend la sainteté, et qu'avec les méchans, on court grand risque de les ressembler ; cest pour cette raison que je me rendray aupres de mon pere abbé aussitôt que je puis, car toutes les fois que j'ay le bonheur de vous entretenir, et de vous entendre parler, cela me renouvelle l'ardeur que j'ay gagnée dans cette sainte maison, de me donner entierrem^t. a la divine providence, et de faire mon possible de le servir en bon chrétien dans l'estat ou il m'a mis. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, la Reine et mes enfans, et a celles de toute vôtre communauté. La vôtre

du premier de ce mois me fut rendüe peu de jours apres que vous l'aviez écrite. Je les lis toujours avec beaucoup de plaisir, et elles me sont tres utiles, je tâche d'en profiter.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 34^e. du 15^e. Juin. 99.

JE vous écris ce mot seulement pour vous dire que je continue dans les mêmes sentimens que je vous avois mandez par ma derniere lettre de vous aller voir a la fin de ce mois s'il plait au bon Dieu, je prétend partir d'jcy le 29^e. pour avoir le bonheur de vous voir le 30^e., ce me sera une grande satisfaction aussi bien que fort utile; ceux qui vivent dans le grand monde en ont plus de besoin que les autres pour jouïr un peu d'une solitude comme la vôtre; la Reine se recommande a vos bonnes

prieres, vous n'oublirez pas comme j'espere mes enfans, Il n'est pas neccessaire de vous en dire davantage a cette heure.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 35^e.

de fontainebleau.

DEVANT que de partir de St. Germain pour ce lieu cy, on me donna la vôtre du 26^e. du mois passé, j'avois commencé a y répondre deux ou tros jours devant que de quitter ce lieu là, mais je n'eüs pas le loisir de l'achever étant obligé d'assister a la distribution des aumosnes qu'on faisoit des charitez que sa sainteté nous a envoyées pour soulager les pauvres Catholiques des trois royaumes, qui sont refugiéz icy en france, chasséz et bannis de leur pays pour avoir servy le Roy, et moy, et sans les charitez quils ont reciüs

jcy, auffi bien que de Rome, il auroit esté impossible de faire subsister tant de pauvres familles reduittes a l'extremité, et même bien des gens de qualité parmy eux, qui n'ont subsisté de puis pres de dix ans que par la providence, puisque de temps en temps nous n'avons pas eû des vües, pour les pouvoir soulager quand le bon Dieu nous a envoyé de quoy le faire. Ce m'est un grand plaisir et une satisfaction toutes les fois que je reçois de vos lettres, de voir que vous vous souvenez de moy et des miens dans vos prieres, nous en avons bien besoin dans l'état ou nous sommes pour nous soutenir et nous fortifier pour pratiquer la veritable résignation a la volonté du bon Dieu, ceque nous tachons de faire autant que nôtre foiblesse nous le permet, esperant que vos bonnes prieres et celles des gens de bien nous fortifront dans

cette pensée, de ne nous point mettre en peine de tout cequi nous peut arriver icy, pourvû que nous gagnions une heureuse eternité ; il me semble que tant de morts qui viennent d'arriver si pres les unes des autres parmy les grands de la terre, comme la Reine de Portugal, Princeesse jeune, vertueuse, et tres charitable ; du Roy de Dannemark qui n'avoit que cinquante trois ans ; de la Duchesse de Modene mere du duc de ce nom qui reigne presentem^t., doivent faire songer a eux, grands et petits, et qu'on n'est pas seur de vivre un moment, et quoyque ce soit une verité connue et avouée par tout le monde, combien peu y en a-t-il qui vivent comme ils le croient, il faut les plaindre et prier pour leur conversion. Nous avons pensé perdre l'Abbé Boilleau le predicateur qui est fort de vos amis aussi bien que le mien ; je ne fais nulle doute qu'il

étoit bien préparé mais le bon Dieu la préservé pour l'amour de ses amis et pour instruire les autres. Je ne scay si la maladie qu'il a eüe ne lempéchera pas de precher le Carême qui vient devant le Roy, c'étoit une hôneur qu'il navoit pas brigué, mais du choix du Roy. J'ay fait de puis mon arrivée icy une connoissance avec l'evêque de Toul qui a la reputation parmy tout le monde de se conduire en veritable evêque, et ne quitte guerre son troupeau. Il est venu a la cour pour des affaires de son Diocêze étant fort tourmenté par le parlement de Nancy. La Reine a esté un peu incommodée de puis son arrivée icy, mais Dieu mercy, elle se porte mieux a cette heure, cela l'a un peu mortifiée, quoy quelle se passeroit ailleurs aisem^t. de quelques uns des divertissemens dont elle ne peut pas se passer icy ; il faut encore une fois se re-

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commander a vos bonnes prieres
et a ceux de vôtre communauté,
nous en avons bien besoin pour nous
soutenir dans l'état ou nous sommes.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 36^e. du 29^e. Janvier. 1700.

Ce m'est toujours un grand plaisir
aussi bien qu'un soulagement de
recevoir vos lettres en tout temps ;
pour a present Dieu mercy je me
porte tres bien, il ne me reste qu'un
peu de foiblesse a un de mes pieds
ou jay eu la goutte étant tout a fait
gueri de mon autre mal qui me fit
assez souffrir pour le temps quil dura
dont je rends grace au bon Dieu,
puisque c'est par les souffrances, et
en s'y soumettant avec une resigna-
tion et une patience veritablem^t.
chrétienne, qu'on peut luy plaire,
c'est le devoir de tout le monde,

particulierement pour un qui l'a tant offensé que moy, et d'avoir negligé pour tant d'années les advertissements d'un si bon Pere qui a tant travaillé a me r'appeller a luy. Je ne puis jamais assez déplorer ma misere d'avoir commencé si tard, et ce n'est qu'a sa feulle misericorde en quoy on peut esperer, et en les bonnes prieres des gens de bien. Je demande la continuation des vôtres, et de tous ceux de vôte maison, y ayant tant profité par ceque j'y ay vû et le sejour que j'ay eu le bonheur d'y faire quelquefois chez vous. La Reine a esté a Chaillot hyer pour la feste de St. Francois de Sales et doit revenir icy demain, et alors elle a designé de vous écrire elle même, vous ferez bien aise de sçavoir que mon fils fit sa premiere communion le Jour de Noël. J'espere que le bon Dieu luy donnera la grace de perseverer dans les

bonnes inclinations qu'il paroît avoir
presentem^t. Je le recommande luy
et sa sœur a vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 37^e. du 28^e. avril. 1700.

VOICy les festes de Pasque passées,
et je prétend s'il plait au bon Dieu
de me donner la satisfaction et le
plaisir de vous aller voir chez vous
la semaine de l'Ascension. J'ay
crû quil étoit a propos de vous en
advertir de si bonne heure, quoy-
qu'en ce monde on n'est sur de rien,
sinon qu'il faut mourir, pas même
pour un moment, comme ceux qui
l'ont pratiqué si longtemps que moy
le doivent scavoir. En fin les deux
Chambres du Parlement d'Anglet-
terre ont passé ce terrible acte, par
le quel ils prétendent extirper nôtre
Sainte Religion des trois malheureux

royaumes, á quoy le Prince d'Orange a donné son consentem^t. aussi, non obstant toutes les promesses et assurances quil avoit fait donner a ces anciens confederez de la maison d'Autriche, par ses lettres et ses Ministres, particulierem^t. a ceque l'on dit par le Prince de Vaudemont a Rome, quand il y fut il y a quelques années, et par d'autres, de ne jamais permettre que les loix desja faites, seroient mises en force contre les Catholiques, mais a cette heure tout le monde sçait le contraire, et que cette loy quil vient de passer, nouvellem^t. (au moins que le bon Dieu n'y mette la main visiblem^t.) déracinera en peu d'années la catholicité des trois royaumes. Jusqu'a ceque cette acte soit imprimé, on ne peut pas si bien juger de l'effet, que ces messieurs qui l'ont fabriqué pretendent, et vers le temps que je seray chez vous, on aura nouvelle

comment ils commenceront a agir avec nos evêques, et tous ceux qui y sont nommés c'est une épreuve bien rude, il faut prier le bon Dieu de les fortifier et de les soutenir. Je suis assuré que vos prieres et celles de tous les vôtres ny manqueront pas, je prie comme on est obligé, tous les jours pour la conversion de ce pauvre malheureux, le Prince d'Orange, et tous ceux qui me font du tort, et tacheray autant que je puis a être un veritable Chrétien.

JACQUES ROY.

La Reine a esté charmée de votre lettre, et se recommande elle et ses deux enfans a vos bonnes prieres.

Lettre 38^e. du 20^e. septembre. 1700.

IL y a quelque temps que j'ay receu la vôtre du 30^e. d'Aoust par

celuy qui vous servit alors de secretaire en l'absence de Mons. Maine ; tout ce qui vient de vôtre part me donne beaucoup de satisfaction, et de voir que vous vous souvenez tant de moy, mais l'etat en lequel vous êtes par le mauvais état de vôtre sancté, de quoy Mons. le Baube m'a rendu compte, m'afflige fort, et me donne bien de la peine, quoy que je sçay que ceux qui mennent une vie aussi S^{te}. et exemplaire que vous, sont bien aise de mourir, me souvenant de ce que St. Jean Climaque dit sur ce sujet. Je suis bien aise d'apprendre que Mons. Maine est si bien remis de la dangereuse maladie quil a eûe, s'il y eut esté emporté, cela auroit esté une tres grande perte pour tous nous autres qui avons de lamitié pour luy, et pour vôtre S^{te}. communauté. Vous aurez desja appris la mort de mon petit fils, le fils de la Princesse de Danne-

mark a Windfor; ce pouroit être un bonheur pour cet enfant de mourir si jeune, il n'avoit que onze ans complets, et on peut espérer pour luy qu'à cette age là, le bon Dieu peut avoir eu misericorde de son ame, car s'il avoit vescu plus longtemps, selon les apparences il auroit été engagé a participer des crimes du reste du pays, ayant un tel gouverneur et un tel precepteur. Monsieur l'Evêque de Meaux m'a prié de faire reimprimer les papiers du feu Roy mon frere, et ceux de la deffunte Duchesse de Yorke, que vous avez desja vûs et y adjouter la relation de la mort du feu Roy mon frere, croyant qu'ils peuvent avoir un bon effet parmy les nouveaux ou mauvais convertis, comme aussi de faire voir a tout le monde quil est mort Catholique, ce que bien des gens même dans ce pays jcy en doutoient. Je crois que l'on a

guere vû de lettre ou par hazard on a repeté si souvent le nom de la mort; il me semble que je fais bien d'y songer toujours, afin d'y être bien préparé, croyant que quand on y songe bien comme il faut, que l'on vivra mieux, et qu'on ne fera pas si sujet a se negliger, mais d'être toujours prest. J'espère que le bon Dieu me fera la grace de perseverer dans ces sentimens. Je vous prie d'interceder pour moy a sa divine Majesté, que je puisse demeurer ferme dans ces mêmes sentimens, tant qu'il luy plaira de me laisser dans ce monde; vous sçavez bien que je souhaitte d'en sortir, le plus-tôt est le meilleur, afin de ne pouvoir plus l'offencer, a quoy je suis tres sensible, on y est exposé tant que l'on vivra. Les lettres de Rome arriverent vendredy au soir, le Pape se portoit pour lors un peu mieux, mais il ny a pas d'apparence étant

fi avancé en age quil est, quil puisse durer longtemps ; ces lettres estoient du trente unième. On se prepare pour Fontainebleau, le Roy doit partir le 23^e., et la Reine et moy le 28^e. et l'assemblée du clergé fairont leur harangue au Roy lundy. Pour ce qui est du Prince d'Orange il y a apparence quil se porte mieux qu'a son arrivée en Hollande, car il avoit fait son voyage a Breda, Bercopzon, de la, a Grave pour retourner a Loo, et de la retourner en Angleterre au commencement d'octobre. Les loix terribles qu'il passe l'hyver passé pour extirper nôtre S^{te}. religion, ont commencé a cette heure a être mises en force, car par les lettres venues de Londres, nous apprenons q'un prêtre et missionnaire anglois avoit été condamné par les juges a Londres a une prison perpetuelle, et fut ensuite envoyé prisonnier a Neugate, qui est le lieu ou l'on garde ces sortes de criminels.

d'Angleterre. 103

Je prie le bon Dieu de donner de la force a ces martyrs, de souffrir avec fermeté. Je vous envoie trois coppies de ces imprimées dont je vous ay parlé, l'une pour vous même, une pour Monsieur l'Abbé, et l'autre pour Mons^r. Mainé. 1.

JACQUES ROY.

*Consultation du Roy d'Angleterre faite
au R. Pere ancien Abbé de la
Trappe écrite de la main de sa
Majesté sans signature
et sans datte.*

COMME je vous parle toujours a coeur ouvert pour le spirituel aussi bien que le temporel, je ne puis m'enpecher de vous prier de me donner vôtre sentiment sur une pensée qui m'est venue dans la teste, dont je n'ay pas encore parlé a qui que ce soit, ni n'en parleray pas a personne que je n'aye vôtre reponse ; cest de scavoir si un homme comme moy qui a offencé le bon Dieu par tant de pechez mortels, et qui a vescu des années presque entieres dans un si miserable état, doit se servir des prieres de l'Eglise pour tâcher obtenir de Dieu d'abreger le temps que

je dois estre dans le purgatoire, étant persuadé comme je suis que je merite des peines infinies de l'avoir offensé si grièvement, et si ce n'est pas mieux fait destre content de tout souffrir jusqu'au temps prescrit, et de donner cet argent, quon laisse ordinairement. pour prier pour son ame, aux pauvres.

Il y a aussi une autre chose sur quoy je demande vos sentimens ; si ce n'est mieux fait de donner ce que lon a accoutumé de laisser pour des œuvres de pieté ou des charitez dans son testament pendant sa vie, que de faire payer cela a ses heritiers, puisquil me paroist plus juste et convenable qu'on le fasse soy-même durant sa vie, que de laisser cette charge a ses heritiers. Je ne pretens pas trouver a redire a ceux qui en usent autrement, disant seulement. ma pensée a mon égard. et pour l'autre point je parle aussi seulement

pour ce qui me regarde, priant tous les jours pour les morts selon l'usage de l'Eglise, et même je seray bien aise qu'on le fasse pour moy quand je seray mort.

Je n'ay pas eu le temps de copier cecy au nêt, et même j'ay peur de ne mêtre pas bien expliqué pour vous faire bien comprendre ceque je veux dire. Je le met dans un papier a part, et je vous prie d'en faire de meme quand vous me ferez réponse.

I.

Le Roy d'Angleterre aiant consenti de son vivant, pour une marque singuliere de la confiance et des bontez qu'il a eües pour nostre R. P. Ancien Abbé et pour sa maison, que nous gardassions les lettres originalles que sa Majesté lui avoit ecrites : et la Reine nousaiant ordonné delui en envoyer une copie, Je certifie a tous quil appartiendra que celle cy est en tout conforme aux originaux qui sont entre nos mains ; en foy de quoy nous avons signé le present certificat a la Trappe le trentieme decembre 1701

JACQUES ABBE DE LA TRAPPE.

MAYNE, Secretaire du R. P. ancien
Abbé de la Trappe.

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